

# The Hispanic American Historical Review

Vol. XVI

November, 1936

No. 4

FRANCISCO DE ARANGO Y PARREÑO

## I

Some ten years ago when working in the Archives of the Indies on the Cuban *Intendencia*, I examined, among the documents known as the *Papeles de Ultramar*, a body of materials relative to Francisco de Arango (1765-1837).<sup>1</sup> Some time later the idea occurred to me to prepare some such article as the following, being then, as now, convinced that his career merits this or even more extended consideration. Arango has been regarded as a significant personality and official of the later Spanish empire, deserving from Spain and Cuba in recognition of his services, according to Pedroso y Montalvo, an enduring monument, just as did Cobden and Peel from a grateful English people for their respective achievements, which were somewhat of the same order as those of the Cuban statesman. Opinions of him expressed by contemporaneous observers and subsequent writers, both friends and critics, have run to superlatives. His precocity, seriousness, energy, learning, administrative talent and integrity, independence, patriotism, benevolence, and culture have been so estimated. When hostile critics charged him with office seeking, they alleged that his ambition was inordinate; by one such critic he was called a "despot" in his control of Havana. Strong,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "The James Sprunt Historical Studies", *Studies in Hispanic-American History*, XIX. (No. 2) 74-135.



rugged qualities were ascribed to him. One who would now attempt an appraisal of him encounters panegyric as consensus of opinion, with censure the exception.

He was one of the "wisest of statesmen, and profoundly versed in everything relating to his country"; he was "pure and judicious", according to that discerning traveler, Alexander von Humboldt.<sup>2</sup> One of the ablest captains general of Cuba, Las Casas (1790-1796) praised him, paying tribute to his public zeal, his talents, his knowledge, his effectiveness in service, and his kindness.<sup>3</sup> The historian Pezuela wrote that he was

One of the most notable men the island has produced and perhaps the one who more than any other influenced the development of its prosperity.<sup>4</sup>

In the preface to the *Obras*, a kinsman, Andrés de Arango, finds in the labors of this statesman the reasons why

the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico remained faithful to the mother country in spite of the general emancipation of the other Hispanic-American colonies.<sup>5</sup>

Guiteras compared Arango with Aranda, Floridablanca, Campomanes, and Jovellanos. One of the latest commentators on his career writes

The life of Arango is so fruitful of achievements, that it is difficult to make a synthesis of them. It is sufficient to say that the economic development of Cuba, during the period in which he lived, is so in-

<sup>2</sup> Humboldt, A. [von], *The Island of Cuba* (J. S. Thrasher, editor. New York, Derby and Jackson, 1856), pp. 197, 215. This English edition is apparently a translation of the Spanish version of José López de Bustamante (Paris, 1840), which bore the title *Ensayo político sobre la Isla de Cuba*.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobo de la Pezuela y Cobo, *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de la Isla de Cuba* (4 vols., Madrid, Imp. del Establecimiento de Mellado, 1863), I. 32-33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Obras del Excmo. Señor D. Francisco de Arango y Parreño* (2 vols., Habana, Imp. de Howson y Heinen, 1888), I. xi. Hereafter these volumes will be referred to as *Obras*. The majority of the editorial notes was supplied by Manuel Villanova. The others were prepared by Vidal Morales.



timately associated with his life, that it is impossible to separate the one from the other.<sup>6</sup>

Honored by his mother country and his own people, active in many important offices, persistent advocate of economic reforms in the empire, exponent of the ideas of Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, Francisco de Arango was an interesting example of the heights that could be ascended by a colonial and of the success that could be won despite obstacles and reaction. His writings are of interest to the student not only of Cuba, but of the later Spanish Empire.

The students of Hispanic-American history are coming, of course, to know more about the beliefs and deeds of colonials, of minor civil servants as well as important explorers, viceroys, captains general, and missionaries. Increased reading of the reports of travelers, studies in literature, and researches in archives makes this information available for the reconsideration and rectification of that history. It is rare, however, that one may have access to the published works of colonial subjects of Spain. Yet, in this case, we have in fair degree of completeness the writings, state papers, and some of the letters of an intelligent Cuban creole, who lived in stirring days of revolution and change. During his life, momentous events occurred, and most of them—the war of independence in the United States, the French Revolution, the servile insurrection in Haiti, the Napoleonic wars, the Spanish revolt of 1820, and the Spanish-American revolutions—had their influences upon him and upon Cuba.

The reading of Arango's works and the consideration of his official labors give the impression of a man of severe concentration upon a single idea—a people's happiness, a nation's progress, and an empire's safety depend upon agricultural, industrial, and commercial prosperity. This prosperity in all the ramifications of cause and effect was bound, of course, to

<sup>6</sup> A. L. Valverde, "Francisco de Arango y Parreño", *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, XXVIII. (No. 2) 238.



have for him numerous interrelationships with other aspects of life and policy. Whatever related to it was a proper subject of study and action, without deflecting him for long if at all from his major concern. This prosperity and progress came, for example, to involve popular education as practiced in his day; so education was brought within the scope of his interest and labor. The attainment of his objective from the start involved politics and legislation; so he was politician and officeholder. The Spanish imperial system, in organization and administrative procedure, was acceptable to him—if change of it should be permitted by removal of obstacles to the free movement of products to their most profitable markets. Given these changes, significant as they were—adoption of improved ways of production and manufacture, liberal terms of importation of labor and population, adequate and ready means of transportation, open ports and trade with foreign countries—that is, given the abandonment of mercantilism, the political system could remain unchanged. As he expressed it:

That has been and always will be my profession of faith: To defend with *all vigor the rights of the Island and to sustain with the same its union with the mother country*, and that is the language with which for twenty-two years I have spoken in behalf of this country to the venerated Charles III., to his two august successors, to the *Junta Central*, to the *Cortes* extraordinary and ordinary.<sup>7</sup>

With an earnestness that partook of religious fervor he labored; and, as a practical man of property, of experience, and of knowledge of his people and government, he was able step by step to get much of his program enacted into law and put into practice. He was, therefore, a man of action as well as of thought.

Arango's Cuban apologists and kinsmen were fond of

<sup>7</sup> *Obras*, I. 403. This passage is taken from the document entitled *Al público imparcial de esta isla*, which was printed as a pamphlet and issued by the Oficina de Arazoza y Soler, Havana, 1821. The passage also appears opposite the title page of the *Obras* as declaratory of the constant thought and policy of Arango.



thinking of him as a disciple of Adam Smith in his economics, as the contemporary of Jefferson and Cobden; and no doubt he was influenced by these free traders and opponents of mercantilism. But in his maturity of thought it was Cuba that shaped and sustained his thinking. The island, then as now, needed an expanding market for its sugar, tobacco, and fruits; it needed, then as now, a cheap and in the tariff sense a free or nearly free source of breadstuffs and clothing. Comprehending these needs with clear intelligence, he brought to bear in the resolution of his problem a sound knowledge of doctrine and foreign practice and worked out a system of political economy. It was his privilege to be both proponent and executor of his plan.

There was about Arango a self-confidence which at times suggested arrogance. On the occasion of the selection of the two travelers—one a planter and the other a lawyer—to investigate agriculture, machinery, markets, and manufacturing methods in certain foreign countries, he nominated as the *hacendado* to go, the Count de Casa-Montalvo, and himself as the lawyer. His birth, training in the law, and his merits qualified him; and, as he said, he was no hypocrite about it.<sup>8</sup> His rule of political strategy was shrewdly practical. Conditioning all upon the assumption that the prosperity of the colony contributed to the riches and power of the mother country—an assumption he strove to make a reality—he submitted one plan after another which was calculated to effect the one and the other end. Having proposals to make, he gave them emphasis by submitting them singly, without jeopardizing the whole by a systematic combination of reforms and by courting total rejection on a charge of revolution and radicalism. Always affirming personal loyalty to the crown of Spain and assuming that a prosperous and well-governed Cuba was the desire of the mother country, he was able without censure to say and write many hard truths concerning Spanish administration and government which would probably not have been

<sup>8</sup> *Obras*, I. 111.



tolerated from one not entertaining these presuppositions and sentiments.

Francisco de Arango was born in Havana, May 22, 1765. His family was of noble blood and wealth. He was given an education beyond that ordinarily afforded Cuban youth, having special tutors and taking courses in the university at Havana. With characteristic application, he won academic honors and was so highly regarded for scholarship that he was often called upon to substitute in class room for his professors. His youth, we are gravely assured, was not distracted by childish games, all passions having been subordinated to the thought of the public good.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps this staid and earnest detachment and this high dedication accounted for the appointment of him at the age of fourteen to the management of his father's estate. His advancement in learning and his ready acceptance of responsibility led to a further and signal manifestation of his father's confidence. The latter had a long standing suit-at-law pending before the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo. The circumstances called for the emergency selection of an advocate, and the father chose his son, then only twenty years of age, to represent his interests, despite the fact that Francisco had not completed his legal studies and was not in years eligible to plead in that court. Dispensing with this technical regulation, the *audiencia* allowed him to act as trial attorney. He acquitted himself admirably, winning the case against the opposition of a veteran lawyer and receiving the commendation of the regent, José Antonio Gamboa, who advised the father to send Francisco to Spain for the completion of his legal training. This is a famous story. In Spain he refrained from the dissipations of the court, entered the *Academia de Jurisprudencia de Santa Bárbara*, and in 1787 was awarded his license as *abogado*. He was, it seems, offered a professorship of law. Instead he became by election of the *ayuntamiento* of Havana agent (*apoderado*) of that

<sup>9</sup> *Obras*, I. LV. This is a note supplied by his kinsman, D. Anastasio Carrillo y Arango.



city. During these years he had studied economics, being at first much influenced by Genovesi,<sup>10</sup> but later and permanently by Adam Smith. As representative of Havana—that is, in fact, of Cuba—he contested the pretensions of the monopolistic *consulados* of Cadiz, Barcelona, Vera Cruz, and Mexico City. “Never was mission discharged with more conscientiousness or with greater success”.<sup>11</sup> The instructions of the cabildo, which he probably wrote himself, commanded him to promote with all his zeal the happiness of his country; to secure an increase in the number of slaves; to relieve agriculture of tariff burdens and trade restrictions; to remove the tax on each *arroba* of sugar that arrived at Spanish ports; to encourage tobacco culture either by increasing the subsidy or by enabling the planter to sell any surplus production not desired by the tobacco factory; to remove the *alcabala* on cattle or to secure at least the substitution of a single capitation tax; and to open the commerce in whiskey and spirits with Yucatan, with the other colonial provinces, and with the United States. He was to endeavor to remedy the dearth of money in the colony by securing relief from tax on specie coming from New Spain. Enlisting the friendship of Gardoqui and Gerónimo Viaña, who aided him in his mission, he secured a remarkable series of concessions and reforms.

Among the items on which he made reports or proposals were the following: importation of slaves; introduction of modern machinery, steam power, and ice; establishment of a local mint; foundation of the Havana consulado; concession of trade with neutrals and ultimately with foreign countries; authorization of a local system of auctions and maritime insurance; suppression of the tobacco factory; and introduction of a different plan of Cuban education. He was anxious that Spain and Cuba take advantage of the situation created by the insurrection in Haiti and was later responsible for the intro-

<sup>10</sup> The reference is to Antonio Genovesi (1712-1769) and to his famous treatise *Lezioni di commercio e di economie civile* (Milan, 1786).

<sup>11</sup> Pezuela y Cobo, *Diccionario*, I. 32.



duction from that source of the superior Otaití sugarcane seedlings.

Arango's public career was identified with many important offices. In 1836, he had occasion to file with the ministry of the treasury a "resumé of merits and services", which contained some thirty items.<sup>12</sup> It will be appropriate, it is thought, to reproduce here in summary form this resumé. 1. *Apoderado* of Havana, during which service he prepared many reports and was the chief author of the law of foundation of the consulado of commerce, agriculture, and industry. 2. By royal cédula, 1793, he was conceded the honors and salary of oidor of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, in order that he might discharge the duties of the *asesoría de alzadas* in Cuba. 3. By royal cédula, 1794, the office of *Síndico perpetuo* of the consulado. 4. By royal order, 1795, he was named substitute of the captain general in the court of *alzadas* during the latter's absence or sickness (*ausencias y enfermedades*). 5. By commission of the captain general, he was sent on mission to Santo Domingo, which duty was discharged with such merit and success that he was granted the order of the cross of Charles III., with its pension. 6. By royal order, 1804, the *asesoría* of the *ramo de tabacos* with the *ausencias y enfermedades* of the *superintendente* thereof. 7. By royal order, 1809, he was retired from the position of *síndico* of the consulado and *asesor de alzadas* and conceded half the salary of an oidor of the audiencia of Mexico City. 8. By royal order, 1808, he was conceded a "perpetual position" on the governing committee of the consulado. 9. By royal cédula, 1810, the title of honorary member of the audiencia of Mexico City. 10. By *ad interim* appointment, 1804, *superintendente de tabacos*, serving for several years without pay. 11. By royal *resolución*, 1811, he was named *vocal* of the *junta de censura*. 12. In 1811, he was granted the honors of minister of the council of the Indies. 13. In 1809, named by eight town councils of Cuba as *vocal* of the *junta central*. 14. Elected deputy to the *cortes*

<sup>12</sup> *Obras*, II, 781-787.



extraordinary, 1811. 15. Elected to the *cortes ordinarias*, 1813. 16. By royal decree, 1814, member, number ten, of the council of the Indies, serving until 1817. 17. By order of the king, arbitral judge of a mixed commission concerned with the prohibition of the slave trade, 1819-1821. 18. By nomination of the king, 1820, member of the council of state. 19. By royal decree, *intendente* of Cuba, 1824-1825. 20. By royal order, 1825, he was commissioned to reorganize Cuban education, with salary of a councilor of state. 21. By commission of the king, he investigated the difficult matter of the charitable foundation (*obra pía*) of Martín Calvo. 22. By royal cédula, 1829, he was named president of the junta having control of the Colonia Fernandina de Jagua.<sup>13</sup> 23. By royal cédula, 1830, he was commissioned to edit a slave code, that being "of absolute necessity for the public good". 24. By decree of 1833, the king, "taking account of the merits of Arango, seeking to give a sign of the royal appreciation gave him the honors, prerogatives, and distinctions of the *consejo del estado*". 25. The ministry of fomento, 1834, requested him to report on the ways and means best suited for the establishment in the island of civil government. 26. By royal resolución, 1834, granted the dignity of *prócer del reino*. 27. Granted salary, 1834, of member of the council of the Indies. 28. Made member, 1834, of new commission for government of the Fernandina colony. 29. By royal resolución, 1834, made a member of the *consejo del estado*. 30. By royal order, 1836, made vice president of the junta to reorganize primary education.

As *álferes real* of the city council of Havana, an honorific and ceremonial office long held within his family, he was for

<sup>13</sup> This colony was, under this name, the subject of a contract between the crown and Luis de Clouet (1819). A grant of land was made to Clouet, as *empresario*, on condition that he import as colonists families from North America or Europe. In 1829, the colony was placed under the government of a special commission of three (Zamora y Coronado, *Biblioteca de la Legislación ultramarina*, IV. 1-2). In 1834, the colony was subjected to the ordinary authorities of the island.



three decades active in municipal affairs. As friend and adviser of captains general Las Casas, Santa Clara, and Someruelos and as associate and co-worker of the great intendants, Valiente, Ramírez, and Martínez Pinillos, he was in the background as well as the foreground of Cuban politics and administration. It should be added that he declined a title of nobility requested for him by the ayuntamiento of Havana.

These titles, honors, and offices would appear to indicate on the part of the Spanish government a sustained confidence in Arango's loyalty to the crown as well as in his ability. He himself professed an unswerving loyalty. One episode, however, gave his enemies opportunity and grounds for charging a lapse and a participation in an abortive attempt in 1808 to organize a local *junta superior* to administer the Cuban government during the European crisis and during the captivity of Ferdinand VII. Such juntas, as is well known, were organized in Spain and in the continental Spanish-American colonies. In the case of the latter, as is equally well known, these organizations, although in some instances affirming loyalty to Spain and to Ferdinand VII., had in fact been precursory influences and movements for independence. During the periods of the operation in Cuba of the constitution of 1812 (1812-1814; 1820-1821), the press was actively free, and Arango was sensationally charged with disloyal leadership in this venture. In his own defense, he published September 29, 1821, a pamphlet of some sixty-five pages, in which he included many "justificative documents".<sup>14</sup> On July 26, 1808, Arango and seventy-two others submitted to the city council of Havana a representation asking, in view of the captivity of Ferdinand VII. and of the disturbance of the orderly relations with the mother country, that in order to maintain union and internal peace the council should propose and the captain general should organize a *junta superior*, composed of the principal existing authorities and of a number of respectable natives. Although

<sup>14</sup> Francisco de Arango, *Al público imparcial de esta Isla* (Havana, Oficina de Arazoza y Soler, 1821). Reproduced in *Obras*, II. 383-464.



this representation had the approval of the captain general and of other high officials and was signed by some of the leading inhabitants, including Ilincheta, *asesor del gobierno*, known as a "perfect Spaniard", it did not when publicly circulated receive a sufficient endorsement of opinion. On this negative or unfavorable response of the public, the proposal was forthwith dropped. Arango could and did hold that the attitude of the "public" showed that Cubans were satisfied with the existing officers and government and that the representation consolidated the authority of the captain general. Someruelos (1799-1812), in reply to direct questions, on January 8, 1812, wrote Arango that the proposition to create a "junta provincial" was made with his full knowledge and approval and that the plan was for the good "of the island and of the peninsula". Earlier on November 1, 1808, the captain general in his report to the junta de Sevilla had acknowledged his support of the plan for a local commission and had added a defense of the record and character of Arango. In support of his claim of continued loyalty to the mother country, Arango submitted the record of his gifts of money to the cause of Spanish resistance to the French.<sup>15</sup> Arango's connection with the affair of 1808 arose to plague him, as on the occasion of his election to the cortes of 1813, when a protest was filed to the effect that in proposing a local junta he had advocated independence of Cuba. Against the assumption that the establishment of such juntas or commissions of government on the continent had graduated into independence movements and that, therefore, the one projected for Cuba meant the same thing, he argued passionately. In both his vehemence and over-elaboration, it might be thought that he proved too much;

<sup>15</sup> The list includes the following contributions: July 20, 1808, 6,000 pesos; November, 1808, 2,000 pesos; in 1810, 1,000 pesos; 1811, 1,500 pesos; his salary as *superintendente de tabacos*; 1813, tobacco which sold for 34,288 pesos. To these he added two acts of benevolence—a gift in 1813 of books to the Biblioteca pública valued at 4,000 pesos and the offer of the establishment of a primary school in Güines. Carrillo, in the *Elogio histórico* (*Obras*, I. XLIV) holds the gifts of Arango "to the nation" amounted to 100,000 pesos.



yet, so far as the writer is aware, there is no credible evidence that Arango entertained then or later a design for independence. On the contrary, all his formal statements which had any relation to the point attested his loyalty. As to the project of 1808 the Sevilla junta promptly expressed its disapproval; but, at the same time, asserted that the plan was a mistaken, although not a culpable, proposal. Both Arango and Ilincheta, who signed the representation, continued in office and the former, as we have already noted, was to receive many new honors and to continue in the public service.

On the subject of independence for the island, Arango is supposed to have written and published in 1823 a pamphlet, which was a reply to an article which appeared in *El Revisor*.<sup>16</sup> This article was made up principally of a faulty translation of Abbé de Pradt's chapter on "Cuba et Inglaterra", the publication of which had been requested by the translator who endorsed it and who signed himself "F. R.". Abbé de Pradt had urged independence as a proper solution of Cuba's problems and destiny. He had predicted that the island might fall under the control of Great Britain, which would mean that that country would thereby secure a dominant power in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean region. Arango corrects the erroneous translation and proceeds to add a reasoned argument against independence and against separation from Spain. Cuba should take warning from the experience of those former colonies then in revolution against the mother country. They were suffering from frightful social and political disorders; they had had thirteen years of horrors and were still in chaos. Cuba as a colony was in a sense under the

<sup>16</sup> This pamphlet was entitled *Reflexiones de un Habanero sobre la Independencia de esta Isla* (Habana, Oficina de Arazoza y Soler, 1823). This work ran through two editions within one year. It is attributed to Francisco de Arango by his kinsman, Anastasio Carrillo, in the *Elogio histórico* (*Obras*, II. 423. Cf. note by Manuel Villanova). Pezuela, in his *Ensayo histórico de la Isla de Cuba* (p. 529), agrees, but in his *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (IV. 164) ascribes it to José de Arango, whom he mistakenly states was the brother of Francisco. The reproduction in the *Obras* is of the second edition, which had been corrected and enlarged by the author.



protection of all the strong powers, none of which was willing that any other should control it. As the possession of any strong power, it would be a prize of war and the scene of conflict. The same would be true if the island should succeed in winning independence, since it would be unable to maintain it by its own force. On the other hand, Cuba had fared well under Spain, receiving favors even during the period of so-called absolute power of the king. There was nothing to fear, therefore, should the liberties granted under the constitution be modified or canceled. Abbé de Pradt argued that Cuba's fate united it to the rest of America; that it would not remain a Spanish nor become an English colony; and that it would become free, either by its own efforts or by those of its neighbors. Having secured freedom it would be a republic. To Arango, these assumptions and prophecies were not, as claimed, in accord with the logic or the nature of things. Cuba's fate tied it to the nations of greatest maritime power, to those which consumed the greatest quantity of the island's fruits, and to those which could supply it at the least expense with the commodities it needed. Cuba's resources, military and otherwise, in men and things, he argued, were insufficient to enable it to secure and sustain independence; and Cuba's people were not trained by experience and education in the ways of self-government.

On the occasion of his departure for Spain, in 1813, to participate as deputy in the meetings of the cortes, he wrote a representation to the *diputación provincial*, in which he stated his ideas of the necessary education and experience a people should have in order that they might be capable of enjoying liberty and of governing themselves. In the part to which we wish to refer, he began with a quotation:

The impulse of a people toward liberty will always be of ephemeral duration, if it is not sustained in the spirit by conviction, and in the heart by sentiment. He who does not have informed understanding (*luces*) does not know how to be free, and he who does not have virtue is not worthy of being free.



He then continued :

What a vast field do these few phrases open up ! What will it benefit us to have been given a constitution, if the ways are not provided by which we may know what it is, and that we may love it as do the English ? And how may we know it, how will we love it, living in ignorance and with the political vices to which three centuries of despotism have committed us ? What will the laws against tyranny and abuses which surround us serve, if the root of them remains intact, if all our heads and all our hearts are not constituted (if this expression is permitted) ? We will hold these holy laws in the same indifference and in the same lack of observance as was the law, in our ancient codes, which forbade the kings to establish taxes (*gravámenes*) without consent of the people. This is neither the place nor the time that I should specify the system which is suitable to follow in the matter ; but it will not be amiss that I indicate the first step which in my judgment must be taken. . . .

Almost all the rural population of our island (which is the principal instrument of our fortune), and a great part of the urban, does not know how to read and write, not knowing how to read, they can not know, *as they should (como corresponde)*, what is the constitution ; and not knowing, *as they should (como corresponde)*, what is the constitution, they can neither love it nor defend it, *as is fitting (como corresponde)*. . . . Let us try to bring about what may be in this island : let us transform it in this matter : let us see to it that all the inhabitants receive within a short time with due perfection the most useful of all teaching, which is primary instruction.<sup>17</sup>

After effectively quoting from the book written by Abbé de Pradt in 1817 which warned against premature revolutions and independence by unprepared and socially heterogeneous

<sup>17</sup> *Obras*, II. 324-325. Immediately following the statements quoted, Arango proposed the establishment of a primary school in his own district of Güines. He was to give a building suitable for the purpose or the requisite funds for its construction. He also pledged himself to contribute 300 pesos annually for the support of the school. Should he fail to return from Spain, he promised to direct the executors of his estate to set aside 6,000 pesos as an endowment for this school. The building which was provided was valued, according to Valverde (*op. cit.*, p. 249), at 30,000 pesos.



peoples, Arango held that for Cuba, under existing circumstances, an attempt to become independent would be unjust, impracticable, and ruinous.<sup>18</sup>

Among the plans proposed for Cuba were that of a tour of inspection and observation in certain foreign countries, that of the organization of a local society to be called the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, and that of the foundation of a consulado in Havana. In all of these Arango was interested and with the first and last he was identified as the responsible party. The society endorsed by Las Casas and requested by leading Cubans, was sanctioned by royal decree of 1791. The opening convocation was held January 2, 1793.<sup>19</sup>

Another proposal led to the tour of observation in Portugal, England, Barbados, and Jamaica to study methods of cultivation of such crops as sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo, ways of manufacturing and marketing finished products, improvements in farm machinery, and other items of importance to agriculture and commerce.<sup>20</sup> Arango and the Count de Casa-Montalvo were appointed to this task. The voyagers were regarded with suspicion and experienced several misfortunes, such as shipwreck and loss of some specimens. Casa-Montalvo suffered a stroke of apoplexy and loss of eyesight; he died shortly after his return to Havana.<sup>21</sup> During the fall of 1795, Arango made a series of reports, written and verbal, in which he stated his observations and explained certain ex-

<sup>18</sup> The work in question was *Les Colonies et la Révolution actuelle de L'Amérique* (2 vols., Paris, Lib. de Bechet, 1817). The quotations were taken from the second volume, pp. 133, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147.

<sup>19</sup> The history of the society is related in Pezuela, *Ensayo político de la Isla de Cuba* (Imp. Esp. de Rafael, New York, 1842) p. 330 *et seq.* The Society in its central body at Havana and the branches in the island considered ways by which Cuban agriculture, industry, and commerce might be promoted. It printed papers and memorials, some of which have scientific value.

<sup>20</sup> This trip was authorized in Art. 22 of the *Real Cédula de Erección del Consulado de la Habana, expedida en Aránjuez a 4 de Abril de 1794.*

<sup>21</sup> Cf. P. J. Guiteras, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (2d ed., 3 vols., Havana, Imp. Cultural, 1927-1928), II. 296.



hibits. Among the latter was the model of a steam engine adapted for use in sugar mills.<sup>22</sup>

Of the many offices held by Arango, one was that of intendant, which he occupied 1824-1825. This appointment came during the early period of the restoration of the absolute power of Ferdinand VII., at the time of disturbance and decline of commerce on account of the activity of the fleet of Gran Colombia, of fears of attack from Mexico, of anticipation of a blockade, and of personal illness suffered by Arango. His fears as to his physical ability to fulfil the duties of this office caused him to administer it in commission, using especially high officials of the *contaduría*. Heavy and extraordinary demands were made upon the treasury to assist the military and naval campaign against Gran Colombia and in aid of the defense of San Juan de Ulúa; also there were unexpected and scandalous revivals of smuggling. His most notable efforts to meet these situations were the more efficient collection of tariffs and taxes and rigorous economy. His slogan was "spend less and collect more" (*disminuir los gastos y aumentar las rentas*).<sup>23</sup> He organized a *junta de auxilios* to aid him, composed of three officers of the *hacienda*, three of the Havana cabildo, three of the consulado, two planters, two merchants, and a secretary. In a letter he analyzed the several economies put into effect during his administration, with the consequent increase of revenues despite a decline in shipping and in volume of imports.<sup>24</sup> His health failing, he was succeeded by Claudio Martínez Pinillos, Conde de Villanueva, whom he had strongly recommended.

After 1825, Arango was only occasionally in public service;

<sup>22</sup> To the fruitful results of this tour, should be added those derived from a trip made by Arango to Haiti and Santo Domingo, which was reported (*Obras*, I. 338-386). He urged that inducements in the way of grants of lands and temporary exemptions from taxes be made to those who wished to migrate to Cuba. Many such people came. Humboldt testified to the benefits to Cuba caused by the introduction of Haitian methods of sugar culture and manufacture.

<sup>23</sup> Arango to the *Secretario de Estado*, August 28, 1824. *Obras*, II. 472-473.

<sup>24</sup> Letter No. 390, *Obras*, II. 484-490.



he became a sort of sage. His last notable contributions to his people and government were his plan of studies and his proposed revision of the slave code. The first, submitted in 1828, contained some 325 articles and constituted a comprehensive survey of an educational system.<sup>25</sup>

## II

### IDEAS CONCERNING AGRICULTURE AND SLAVERY

From the foregoing the reader is prepared to expect from Arango energetic advocacy of means and measures for the increase of agricultural production, free importation of farm machinery, a greatly increased supply of slaves, and freedom to trade with foreign countries. These reforms were urged from time to time over a period of more than thirty years. They were his remedies for the seven handicaps or obstacles suffered by the Cuban planter in his competition with the rival productions of French, English, and Portuguese colonies. These seven obstacles (*inconvenientes*) were stated and analyzed in Arango's famous *Discurso sobre la agricultura de la Habana y medios de fomentarla* (1792).<sup>26</sup> First, slaves and farm implements cost less in the English and French colonies. Second, the English, French, and Portuguese colonists spend less in affording subsistence to their slaves. Third, Cuba relatively suffers from ignorance of the technical advances in agricultural sciences. Fourth, Cuba competed with colonies supplied with improved agricultural and manufacturing machinery. Fifth, the colonies of these other powers have greater freedom in exporting products. Sixth, the tariff systems and schedules of competing countries encourage rather

<sup>25</sup> *Obras*, II. 547-617. Of interest is the recommendation that the classes of children should be divided into two sections which should compete in scholarship for weekly rewards. These sections again were to be divided into groups of ten (*decurias*) presided over by a monitor drawn from those of highest record in scholarship of the entire class. These monitors (*decuriones*) should take the lesson from memory from the master to their respective decurias; they were not only preceptors, but also disciplinary agents of the master. This feature and some others are reminders of the Lancastrian scheme of instruction.

<sup>26</sup> *Obras*, I. 53-161.



than hamper or prevent exports. Seventh, the competing colonies are not afflicted with scarcity of specie and with comparable rates—usurious rates—of interest. These obstacles were analyzed with reference to the cultivation and marketing of sugar, but he held them to have been operating as to coffee, indigo, cotton, and tobacco.

Considering the scarcity of population and the lack of a sufficient supply of labor as primary obstacles to success in exploiting agricultural resources of the island, and thinking that the recruiting of labor from the working classes of Spain was impracticable, he argued for the importation of Negroes. In order that a plentiful and cheap supply of slaves be made available, he would have unrestricted importation for a period of ten years rather than a concession or a monopoly granted to one or more slave-trading companies. He anticipated an objection by proposing to prevent contraband trading in other commodities on the part of the importer of slaves, which would violate the laws of the Indies, by making Havana the sole port of entry and by giving the captain general and intendant control of the vessels as to the stay in port and as to the cargoes landed. The free and unlimited importation of Negroes caused fear in Cuba among those who thought that the ratio of slaves to whites would become unduly and dangerously large. The servile insurrection in Haiti, with its attendant horrors, heightened this fear. Arango hastened to express himself as unafraid of the change in ratio and discounted the prospect of a local race war. The contagion of insurrection would not spread to Cuba, he thought, because the whites were loyal, obedient subjects of Spain and because the Spanish treatment of slaves was vastly more humane than that by the French. On this last point he wrote:

The French have looked on them as beasts, the Spanish as men. The principle of those masters and of their black codes has always been that of excessive rigor, of instilling in the slaves all possible fear, believing in this way that a white could govern a hundred blacks away



off in the center of the forests, in circumstances of heavy and continuous labor.<sup>27</sup>

Rights of imprisonment, mutilation, and of life and death over the slave enjoyed and exercised by French masters made insurrection inevitable. Against these horrors, Spanish law provided safeguards. Magistrates were commissioned to see that slaves were well treated; no rights of mutilation or killing were allowed; the slave had the right of complaining against the cruel owner; ways and means whereby freedom could be obtained were recognized under law. The proposals for increased and free importation of slaves were granted.<sup>28</sup> The alarm caused by the horrors of the racial wars in Haiti and Santo Domingo, induced the captain general, Las Casas, in 1795, to seek advice concerning the slave trade. The Marques de Casa Peñalver urged suppression of the trade; Arango defended the institution of slavery. His attitude toward the Negro was stated. It was that the Negro was an inferior being and that the slave, as such, was chattel property. As a human, the Negro should be well treated, but the slave status should be retained. His hostility to the mixed breeds (*Pardos* and *Morenos*) led him to suggest repressive laws, including denial of right to enlistment in the militia, in which he was opposed by Las Casas. During the liberal period when the constitution of 1812 was in vogue, Arango led the opposition in the cortes to the proposal to emancipate the slaves, and his speeches are supposed to have been effectual in preventing the passage of the act.<sup>29</sup> He was appointed in 1819 to the mixed commission, provided for in the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1817 on ways and means of stopping the slave trade.

Arango's arguments (1811-1812) in rebuttal of the propositions that the slave trade should be suppressed and that the

<sup>27</sup> *Obras*, I. 49.

<sup>28</sup> According to Humboldt, imports of slaves through the port of Havana from 1790 to 1820 amounted to 225,574 as against 93,409 from 1521 to 1790. Humboldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

<sup>29</sup> *Obras*, II. 175-286. The leaders proposing emancipation and abolition were the eminent Spaniards, Guiridi Alcocer and Canga Argüelles.



institution of slavery itself should be put in a way of extinction were both practical and theoretical. He deplored the existence of slavery and admitted the evils, actual and possible, which had in one place or another in the world attended its existence. The Cuban people were, however, neither responsible for origin of slavery in the island nor were they or the law tolerant of abuses in the treatment of slaves. Cuba's situation must be taken into account that irreparable damage might not be done and that the island's competitive ability and power should not be destroyed. Cuba's competitors—the English, French, and Portuguese colonies—already had enough slaves. Cuba's slave population was neither proportional to its agricultural area nor to its white population. Should the people of Cuba be cut off before they had imported a number comparable to that in the competing colonies? Without setting himself forward as an uncompromising opponent of stopping the slave trade, he urged a few years of grace before the summary steps should be taken. He was opposed to the abolition of slavery. He denied the prevalence of evils in Cuba. He denied that the slave population was ready for freedom either by reason of education or moral responsibility.

The contentions of the reformers in Spain were that slavery is contrary to natural law, that it had already been abolished by the civilized nations, and that it was in conflict with the liberal maxims of the proposed constitution (1812). On the basis of these assumptions, it was declared that slavery by law should be put in a way of extinction. Arango denied that the leading nations had abolished slavery and that the institution of slavery was in conflict with the proposed constitution. Concerning the contention that slavery was contrary to natural law, he said:

Man is born free in nature, as are equally all other creatures; but beside this truth it is necessary to place other truths which have always limited its scope and original force, and which weaken much the general deductions which they without consideration want to draw who seek



the ideal and chimerical perfection of Plato. The first of these truths is that, by the will of man, natural liberty was ended very early, not only for the animal kingdom, but for their own species, and no one enjoys it in all its plenitude, nor in the same degree. Second, that in all ages and nations—inclusive of the people of God—there was civil slavery, which was conserved in Europe among the whites themselves even after Christianity, and in Spain was maintained even after the discovery of America. Third, that without interruption it existed among peoples who have given us leadership in civilization, and who have had the highest regard for human rights. Fourth, that among those peoples, called free *par excellence*, civil slavery was harsher than among us, where the slaves enjoy greater advantages than those which the mild laws of Athens conceded them, since they have a piece of land (*peculio*), they acquire their liberty by paying the price of its purchase (the generosity of the master not having limits in this matter), they can pass easily from one master who is not good to them to one who is, they must be well fed and clothed—they may be declared workmen or exempt from labor—and no one unless their own master has the right of mistreating them and even this master, if he is cruel, must be prosecuted for this crime as for any other crime against the slave. Fifth, that one cause has always been and is in all regions the origin of slavery; one the principle from which was born this right, to wit, the right of might. The ancients were accustomed to getting their slaves in their wars; and in their wars the Negroes take slaves, the very Negroes who are bought for us on the coast of Africa. Sixth, the ancient slaves—as civilized and as capable as their very masters—owed them nothing but the rigor of their misfortune, and our slaves—who, in exchange for the many evils which savage life has for them, have received from our hands all or a great part of civilized life—owe us and should pay us this great obligation.<sup>30</sup>

One of the achievements of Arango was the creation of the consulado of Havana, which was accomplished by royal cédula

<sup>30</sup> *Obras*, II, 215-217. In accompanying documents, Arango offered some comparative statistics. Proportion of freedmen to slaves—in Cuba, 1 to 1.86 (1800); in French islands, 1 to 35.23 (1789); in English islands, 1 to 65 (1789). In English islands the population figures were: whites, 58,353; free Negroes, 7,706; slaves, 461,684. In Cuba, whites, 274,000; free Negroes, 114,000; slaves, 212,000.



of Charles IV., April 4, 1794.<sup>31</sup> The king in the preamble explained in granting the concession that he had received

a discourse and a project prepared by D. Francisco de Arango y Pareño, apoderado of the city of Havana, concerning the present state of agriculture and the ways of making it more flourishing and rich; and the principal means which the latter proposed were the grant of various privileges and franchises which he believed most necessary to promote the cultivation of certain fruits and the establishment of a *junta permanente* in that city to protect agriculture. . . .

In this manner was created the consulado of agriculture and commerce, composed as to governing body of a prior, two consuls, nine councilors, and a syndic. It was commissioned to give an easy and speedy adjustment of mercantile controversies, with as little resort to legal formality and court action as possible. It was also commissioned to afford protection and encouragement to agriculture and commerce in all branches.<sup>32</sup> Although not all of Arango's ideas and suggestions as to the functions and procedural regulations of the consulado were adopted by the king and the council of the Indies, he was, none the less, the most important contributor to the content of the act of foundation. It was, therefore, fitting that he should be named *síndico perpetuo* of the body. He was in addition appointed *asesor de alzadas*, the real judge in the court of appeals affecting merchants, shippers, and planters, coming under jurisdiction of the consulado. All writers unite, so far as I am aware, in giving Arango chief credit and responsibility, during the period as syndic, 1795-1809, for the actuation and success of the Cuban consulado. All of its acts, it is believed, bear the stamp of his ideas,

<sup>31</sup> The foundation of this consulado was contemporaneous with that of the consulados of Caracas (1793) and Buenos Aires (1794).

<sup>32</sup> For a treatment of the consulado of Havana, see E. H. Hunnicutt, *The Consulados of Caracas and Havana: A Comparative Study*. (Thesis, unpublished, University of North Carolina, 1932), pp. 26-60. Cf. Manuel Benites, "Méritos y servicios de D. Francisco de Arango y Parreño", *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, Año XI (March-April, 1912). For the text of the royal order of foundation of the consulado, see J. M. Zamora y Coronado, *Biblioteca de Legislación ultramarina* (6 vols., Madrid, Imp. de Alegría, 1844), II. 425-431.



zeal, and character. In the policies and projects of this body the axioms of his economic theory were faithfully applied. These *axiomas*, in so far as commerce was concerned, Arango, in 1816, submitted as a body of principle and of reform which should be adopted.<sup>33</sup> From this document the following points are selected as having received emphasis: commercial laws should respond to changes of time and circumstance; the old Spanish mercantile system no longer was suited to the status of the mother country or to the colonies and no longer was, in a changed world, susceptible of being effectively executed; the old system of exclusion was no longer just or useful; the same law ought to apply to Havana as to Málaga; the mercantile system had caused incalculable losses to the colonies and had ceased to benefit the mother country as a whole; far from guaranteeing political dependence of the colony, the mercantile system in modern times promoted resentment and antipathy; loyalty abounds where liberty of commerce is granted.

There was in Cuba the *factoría de tabacos*, a government monopoly, to which all tobacco must be sold. This monopoly not only fixed prices, but selected the grades it would buy and destroyed the rest. The controversy in which Arango was for years involved started over a proposition to increase prices in sales to the Cuban public; it grew into an effort to suppress the factory altogether. The *superintendente general* of the factory was Rafael Gómez Roubaud, afterward intendant.<sup>34</sup> He and Arango engaged in an acrimonious dispute, during which the *superintendente* charged the latter with an attempt

<sup>33</sup> *Obras*, II. 343-349. The text of the *axiomas* is reproduced in Zamora y Coronado, *op. cit.*, II. 266-268. The author is represented by the letters "F. A." In a note, Zamora states that the prophecy of Arango was amply fulfilled in that Cuba from 1826 to 1841, with freedom to trade directly with foreign powers, remitted to Spain 24,000,000 duros from the surplus of its revenues.

<sup>34</sup> *Obras*, I. 394-521. For an interesting story of the tobacco *estanco* of Cuba and other Spanish colonies, see Victoriano Felip, *El Tabaco* (3rd. ed., Imp. de Fortanet, Madrid, 1854). It was claimed by one of Arango's biographers (Palma) that the revenues from this monopoly went into the private purse of Godoy. It was also claimed that Arango in this campaign suffered persecution and loss of many friends. Valverde, *op. cit.*, p. 247.



to destroy one of the secure revenues of the crown. Arango was said to have voice and vote in the consulado, to have influence in the city of which "he is despot", and to have power in the *tribunal de alzadas*, which needed reform and investigation. Arango's language was described as characteristically "bold and insolent", that of one wishing to make himself "omnipotent", a "dictator", and "oracle" in everything. In the course of these controversies, Roubaud made representation to Spain claiming that in Cuba *Ley 17, Título 2, Libro 3* of the laws of the Indies was violated. This law had forbidden natives and those born in the colonies (*hijos del país*) to exercise certain judicial powers.<sup>35</sup> In this communication he directly attacked Ilincheta on account of his sixteen years of service as *asesor del gobierno* and incidentally Arango on account of holding the several offices of *asesor de alzadas*, *asesor electo de tabacos*, *síndico perpetuo de consulado*, and *regidor de la ciudad*.<sup>36</sup>

Arango attacked the monopoly, not the director, giving a succinct history of the tobacco industry and showing that whereas other agricultural commodities had been during the past forty years produced on an increasing scale, the production of tobacco had declined—and this despite the preference of the world for Havana cigars. The cause? What, if not the system of marketing, price fixing, and classification adopted by the government monopoly? After more than ten years of effort, Arango was later in 1817 to have the satisfaction of witnessing the suppression of the factory as a monopoly.<sup>37</sup>

The import of Arango's economic doctrine was that of a

<sup>35</sup> Archivo General de Indias, *Papeles de Ultramar*, Legajo 175, No. 738 (Gómez Roubaud to Soler).

<sup>36</sup> Arango held these positions with the exception of the last. He was *real alférez*, not *regidor*. In the *nota* filed against Roubaud's representation, it was held that the law of the *Recopilación* cited referred to such offices as the *corregimientos* and the *alcaldías mayores* rather than to those mentioned in the *generalidades y declamaciones de Roubaud*. *Papeles de Ultramar*, *ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Text of the royal decree in Zamora y Coronado, *op. cit.*, VI. 5-11. It is reproduced also in J. Rodríguez San Pedro's *Legislación ultramarina* (Madrid, Est. de José Fernández Cancela, 1865), IV. 615-618.



progressive relaxation of commercial restriction to the point of free, direct trade with foreign countries. At no stage was his plan complicated by advocacy of freedom from taxation, although he often urged lower and fairer taxes. Opposition to the claims of staple towns of Spain, requests for free trade as to slaves, petitions for the right to trade with neutrals during the Napoleonic wars, and demands for direct trade with foreigners in certain necessary commodities were preliminaries to the effort to secure complete freedom of trade. He joined with the intendants Valiente, Ramírez, and Martínez Pinillos in their reforms; and they in turn are entitled to a share of credit in his achievements. He was especially the aide and adviser of Ramírez when in 1818 the free-trade edict was issued by Ferdinand VII.<sup>38</sup>

In the *axiomas* is to be found what may be considered the summation of his attack on the old régime.

Three centuries of favors dispensed to these same members [the staple cities], three centuries of decadence for the state and also of languor in the same branches or privileged members, appear sufficient [as reasons] that we open our eyes or that we confess that those advantages are chimerical. And a moment of impartial reflection suffices for comprehension that the losses are immense which the industry, population, navigation, and riches of our Americas have suffered in order to sustain a system which has not contributed to the metropolis.<sup>39</sup>

He employed arguments against mercantilism; he urged freedom as a matter of justice and good policy; he stated that Cuba produced more molasses, rum, wax, cotton than it could consume; it produced more sugar, coffee, and indigo than could be consumed in Spain; Cuba should have the same freedom in trade allowed Brazil, where the same general commodities were produced; with freedom, the problem of contraband could be solved—thus in all, justice would be done and the national interest and safety served. When Cuba, by rea-

<sup>38</sup> Zamora y Coronado, *op. cit.*, II. 271. This order was preceded by a new regulation governing frauds and smuggling.

<sup>39</sup> *Obras*, II. 345.



son of accidental circumstance, enjoyed freedom it also enjoyed prosperity, and the revenues of the crown quadrupled. Given the advantages, Cuba in Arango's confident prophecy, would become prosperous and, in a budgetary sense, self-supporting.

Having witnessed the victory of securing free trade, and having defended this victory in 1824, he was called upon to give advice concerning the new problems and circumstances that developed in the years following the Napoleonic wars. New competitors, encouraged by the high prices of peace time and the lifting of embargoes and blockades, appeared. Brazil, Louisiana, India, and the Philippines began to produce in quantity commodities in competition with the fruits of Cuba. The supply had come to be greater than the consumption, with consequent decline of prices. One thousand *cajas* of sugar in 1816 brought as much as two thousand in 1827; and one thousand *quintales* of coffee brought as much as did fifteen hundred in 1827. Cuba must again look for a remedy—this time to the improvement in quality and a reduction in costs of production.<sup>40</sup> To this end Arango proposed certain measures. The first was the establishment of a professorship of chemistry with the holder obligated to undertake a profound study of the clays, the alkaline substances, and the animal charcoal used, and of the different temperatures to which the juice should be subjected. Variations in quality—such as had come in the same and different seasons and in the same *ingenio*—must be studied. Also, the soils should be investigated. Secondly, he called for the construction, improvement, and proper maintenance of highways. Thirdly, he asked for the exemption of these agricultural products from export taxes. He further urged that the minor branches of Cuban industry

<sup>40</sup> *Obras*, II, 507-532. Arango in this report several times acknowledged his indebtedness to Humboldt. It is perhaps significant that this *informe* was immediately followed in the *Obras* by his notes on the *Ensayo político sobre la Isla de Cuba*, 533-546. For the text of the royal decree of February 9, 1824, prescribing further rules governing trade with foreigners, see Rodríguez San Pedro, *op. cit.*, V, 291.



should receive attention and that in general the burdens of taxes should rather fall on consumers than on producers. Among the minor industries to be studied and developed were those of cattle raising, tobacco, rice, potatoes, beans, indigo, cacao, and cotton. These as well as the major industries should be improved so that the island should be more nearly self-supporting.<sup>41</sup> This last set of ideas would seem to indi-

<sup>41</sup> Pezuela, in his *Diccionario*, gave a list of the principal writings of Arango. This list was taken from a short biography originally printed in *El Plantel* (Pezuela, *Diccionario*, I. pp. 35-36).

1. Discurso sobre la agricultura de la isla de Cuba y medios de fomentarla (1793).
2. Proyecto de un viage de investigación a Francia, Inglaterra y sus colonias. Defensa de este proyecto (1793).
3. Relación del viage que hizo a dichas partes con el Señor Montalvo (1794).
4. Memoria sobre los incalculables perjuicios que resultan del privilegio esclusivo concedido a las refinerías de azucar que se establecen en la metropolis; escrita en Londres en 1794; se reimprimió en la Habana.
5. Noticias útiles a nuestra agricultura y comercio, escrita en Francia por aquella misma época.
6. Sus proposiciones al consulado de la Habana, en su calidad de síndico, sobre caminos, establecimiento de vendutas, casas de seguros, introducción de nieves, etc., etc.
7. Informe sobre los males y remedios que en la isla de Cuba tiene el ramo de tabacos; escrita en 1805 é impresa en la Habana en 1812.
8. Informe en el expediente sobre los medios que convenían adoptarse para la agricultura y comercio del estado en que se hallaban en 1808; impreso en la Habana el mismo año.
9. Representación a las Cortes generales en nombre de las corporaciones de Habana, contra las proposiciones de los diputados Argüelles y Alcocer sobre el tráfico de negros; escrita en 1811 e impresa en Madrid en 1814. Se tradujo al francés y se publicó en París el mismo año.
10. Máximas económico-políticas presentadas en 1816 al Consejo de Indias.
11. Acuerdos del ayuntamiento de la Habana en cumplimiento del decreto de 14 de febrero de 1810 convocando a las Américas a las Cortes; impresos en la Habana en el mismo año.
12. Al público imparcial de la isla; folleto publicado en la Habana en 1821 defendiéndose de varias recriminaciones que le hicieron. En 1812 había publicado otro con igual objeto.
13. Observaciones sobre el ensayo político de la isla de Cuba, por el barón de Humboldt.
14. Informes al Consejo de Indias in varios expedientes del plan de estudios (1828).
15. Informes al rey sobre la condición de los esclavos en la isla de Cuba, y



cate on his part a willingness to depart from rigid adherence to the principles of *laissez faire*.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON.

University of North Carolina.

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urgente necesidad de la supresión de la trata (1832).

16. Noticia de su comisión deplomática al Guárico en 1803.

17. Manifiesto a S. M. sobre el desempeño de la intendencia de la Habana.

18. Observaciones sobre el viage de Anacarsis.

19. Estracto del Espíritu de las leyes.

Pezuela concludes by stating that in the papers left by Arango are to be found correspondence, described as vast, with such persons as Las Casas, Santa Clara, Someruelos, Cienfuegos, Cagigal, Máhy, Vives, Espada y Landa, Valiente, Caro Torquemada, González Carvajal, Francisco de Saavedra, Jovellanos, Gonzalo O'Farrill, López Ballesteros, Louis Phillipe, Wilberforce, Humboldt, and Admiral Fleming.



## DOS PALABRAS ON ANTONIO DE ULLOA AND THE *NOTICIAS SECRETAS*<sup>1</sup>

The excellent biographical study by Professor A. P. Whitaker of Antonio de Ulloa which recently appeared in this REVIEW<sup>2</sup> and the note by Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick on the *Noticias Secretas*, also in this REVIEW,<sup>3</sup> indicate a justifiable interest in the life and works of a significant figure in eighteenth-century Spain and America. The following bibliographical information is presented in the hope that it may prove useful when some bold student appears to produce that new and critical edition of the *Noticias Secretas* which Professors Ballesteros and Whitaker believe should appear.<sup>4</sup> Of course such an edition should be based upon the manuscripts to be found in Madrid<sup>5</sup> and should not be undertaken unless the editor is willing and able to spend a considerable amount of time working over the great amount of other contemporary material in

<sup>1</sup> The reader of this article has been spared some errors because of the generous efforts of Professor A. P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania and of Professor C. H. Haring, Dr. Halfdan Gregersen, and Mr. Wilbur Bender of Harvard. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the last word on the topics treated here is not contained in this article; indeed, Professor Whitaker promises to discuss in a future number of this REVIEW some of the moot points raised here.

<sup>2</sup> XV, (1935) 155-194.

<sup>3</sup> XV, 492-493.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., XV, 173.

<sup>5</sup> Besides what appears to be the original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional described by Professor Whitaker (in the article cited above, pp. 173-174), three other manuscripts should be consulted. A copy of the *Noticias* is in the Palacio Nacional, MS. No. 1468 (former signatura 2-K-3), and consists of 1,087 pages in an excellent hand. In the Academia de la Historia may be found a copy made by Ayala on July 28, 1779, of the first six chapters of the first part of the *Noticias*, based upon the original then in the Archivo del Despacho universal de Indias, *Papeles varios de Indias* (signatura Est. 26, Gr. 4D, No. 90). The bookseller Vindel of Madrid has listed, for sale, another manuscript of the *Noticias* which is in his collection (Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscriptos Peruanos en las Bibliotecas del Extranjero*, I. (Lima, 1935), 279).



the Spanish archives.<sup>6</sup> Only after such labor could we know whether the famous secret report was merely "snappy stuff" written by young men eager to follow the fashion, whether it was a fairly accurate account of conditions in Peru, or whether

\* Besides the considerable amount of manuscript material cited by Whitaker throughout his article, the published eighteenth-century viceregal reports would probably substantiate many of the charges made in the *Noticias Secretas*. The Archivo General de Indias, of course has many contemporary manuscripts in the Lima section which should be consulted, such as Lima 350-351, 357, 365, 384-388, 414-415, 423, 428-429, 441-442, 791, 802. The following legajos would also doubtless prove to contain interesting information:

Lima 480. "Expediente sobre evitar el comercio ilícito en el distrito de aquella audiencia, 1705-1715".

Lima 482. "Expediente sobre quejas del Virrey Marqués de Castell dos Rios, 1709-1710".

Lima 483. "Expediente sobre la causa de ilícito comercio del Conde de Castelblanco, 1709-1722".

Lima 487-488. "Expedientes sobre la residencia del Príncipe de Santo Bono, Virrey del Perú, 1716-1725".

Lima 490-491. "Actos y testimonios sobre ilícitos comercios en que entendieron Don Francisco Javier de Salazar y Don Jorge de Cugurra, 1717-1727".

Lima 492. "Expediente sobre excesos del Marqués de Valleumbroso en el Cuzco, 1717-1741".

Lima 495. "Autos pertenecientes a quejas de Indios, 1724-1731".

Lima 502-505. "Expedientes sobre controversias entre el Virrey y los obispos de Guamanga, Cuzco, y Trujillo, 1727-1740".

Lima 512. "Autos sobre el desagravio de los indios de Hondores en la venta de unas tierras, 1750-1751".

Lima 555. "Correspondencia y expediente sobre los alborotos del Convento de monjas de la Encarnación de Lima, 1731-1735".

Lima 559. "Correspondencia y expediente sobre controversias entre el Arzobispo y Cabildo eclesiástico".

Lima 563. "Autos sobre el expolio del Arzobispo de Lima, Don Antonio de Soloaga, 1725".

Other valuable manuscripts are to be found in the Palacio Nacional (Madrid), particularly those dedicated to Charles III. by Mariano Machado de Chaves, [Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos de América* (Madrid, 1935), Nos. 279 (item 18), 489, 536]. And most pertinent of all would be the report drawn up in 1750 at about the same time as the *Noticias Secretas* and entitled "Medios que propone para el restablecimiento y subsistencia de Indios del Peru, con particularidad de los que hacen el servicio de las Minas, por Don Pedro de Leon y Escandon segun Experiencia que adquirió en veinte y seis años de establecimiento en el Reyno con exercicio de Minero Togado en la Audiencia de Lima, atiendo a la defensa y proteccion general de ellos" (Ayala Collection, vol. 4, fols. 270-304). Practically every volume in the Ayala collection contains material of value.



Ulloa could have painted an even darker picture, as the important letter discovered by Professor Whitaker suggests.<sup>7</sup>

# I

One aspect of the scientific expedition to Quito, to which Juan and Ulloa were attached and which gave Ulloa the opportunity to observe the colonial régime in operation, was omitted by Professor Whitaker because it did not fall within the scope of his study. Nor has it been adequately described elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> This was the pyramid controversy which arose when the leader of the expedition, the French academician, Charles Marie de La Condamine, proposed in 1741 that an inscription be placed on the two pyramids to be set up on the plain of Yaruquí to commemorate the completion of their task of determining the length of a degree of the meridian at the equator.<sup>9</sup> No one seems to have opposed the idea of recording formally the results of the expedition, but the particular inscription suggested by La Condamine infuriated Juan and Ulloa. Probably no inscription more offensive to the delicate honor of the young Spanish officers could have been devised.<sup>10</sup> For not only was a fleur-de-lis placed above

<sup>7</sup> An English translation of the essential portions of this revealing letter appears in Whitaker's article, pp. 174-175. As late as 1899 Konrad Haebler stated that "in the last years of the Spanish colonial rule there were in general scarcely any well-founded complaints about the lot of the Indians" (*Amerika*, in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, I. (Leipzig, 1899), 409). And in 1935 this opinion was cited by James Leyburn, in *Frontier Folkways* (New Haven, 1935), p. 177.

<sup>8</sup> Señor Cervera y Jiménez Alfaro discusses the controversy in his biography of Jorge Juan (Madrid, 1927) but the section he entitles "Disgustos Piramidales" (pp. 92-108) is far from being a complete account and is not wholly free from patriotic bias.

<sup>9</sup> The proposed inscription may be found in La Condamine, *Journal du voyage fait par ordre du roi, à l'équateur, servant d'introduction historique à la mesure des trois premiers degrés du méridien* (Paris, 1751), p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> My account of the controversy is based largely upon the sketch given by Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*, V. (Lima, 1885), 260-263, and the account given in La Condamine's "Histoire des pyramides de Quito", printed as a part of his *Journal du voyage fait par ordre du roi*, pp. 242-271. A general description of the affair is in Friedrich Hassaurek's valuable *Four Years among the Spanish Americans* (4th ed., Cincinnati, 1892), pp. 250-



the inscription instead of the Spanish royal escutcheon, but due recognition was not made of the patronage of the king of Spain, and, worst of all, the names of the Spanish officers were omitted from the inscription! Ulloa had already contributed an interesting chapter to the history of *courtoisie* in the Andes, as Professor Whitaker has shown,<sup>11</sup> when in 1737 he quarreled with President Araujo of the audiencia because that official persisted in addressing him by the common form for you, *usted*, instead of the more honorific form, *usía*. The pyramid apparently seemed an even more unspeakable insolence. And at the hands of a Frenchman, too, who presumably was familiar with the rules of politesse.

At once the Spaniards instituted a lawsuit before the audiencia of Quito against the French scientist, claiming that he had formulated the inscription without due regard for the honor of Spain. The case dragged on for two years and many *pliegos* of paper were required to set down all the evidence.

253; and Florian Cajori mentions it in his *Early Mathematical Sciences in North and South America* (Boston, 1928), p. 93. Anyone wishing to make a careful study of this bizarre incident could probably find material in the Archivo General de Indias. The Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) has a volume of manuscripts on the subject, MS. No. 1355 in the Sección de Manuscritos, which consists of a "Respuesta a La Condamine sobre las Pirámides de Quito" and an "Extracto de los Autos seguidos en la Real Audiencia de Quito entre D. Carlos de La Condamine . . . con D. Jorge Juan y D. Antonio de Ulloa . . . sobre la construcción de unas pirámides en el Llano de Yaruquí . . . y sobre las inscripciones que se habían de poner en ellas" (Julián Paz *Catálogo de Manuscritos de América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1933), pp. 612-613). The Biblioteca Nacional also has a "Historia de las Pirámides de Quito o Relación de todo lo que ha pasado acerca de las dos Pirámides, e Inscripciones . . . Reformada de los yerros, faltas y equivocaciones substanciales de la primera edición por documentos originales y aumentada de muchas reflexiones importantes sobre cada punto" (MS. 1037). Another copy of the legal process and a printed "Histoire des pyramides de Quito, élevées par las académiciens sous l'équateur par ordre du Roi" are in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Alfred Morel-Fatio, *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais* (Paris, 1892), p. 185). Morel-Fatio states that five sections of the legal process were printed by J. B. Menton, S. J., in his *Programa de lecciones que se darán en la escuela politécnica de Quito en el año escolar de 1875 á 1876* (Quito, 1875), but I have been unable to find a copy of this book.

<sup>11</sup> In his article, pp. 161-164.



La Condamine, who had prepared the inscription before leaving Paris,<sup>12</sup> warmly defended himself, stating that the plaintiffs held no title which would authorize him to include their names—that the royal order merely stated that they were coming to be present at, and to witness officially, all the observations to be made.<sup>13</sup> He did not deny that Juan and Ulloa had indeed performed certain labors in connection with the observations, but they had no real claim to have their names on the pyramid. Some of the French assistants had done as much and their names had gone unmentioned.

La Condamine went on to reveal that he had attempted to placate Ulloa when the latter first made plain his dissatisfaction with the inscription. When La Condamine had offered to include their services, and their names, under the form *assistentibus ex mandato Maj. Cath. Georgio Juan et Antonio de Ulloa, Navis bellicae vice-Praefectis*,<sup>14</sup> which was as much as the academician felt he could, in all justice, concede, the young Spaniards contemptuously rejected the proposal. None of the verbal changes subsequently suggested by La Condamine in his attempt to mollify them were acceptable. Ulloa, for example, would not agree to *assistentibus*, nor did *auxiliantibus* completely satisfy his sense of the importance of their services, and *cooperantibus* was in no wise admissible. In fact, Ulloa not only insisted that their names be included in the inscription but demanded that they be placed above the names of the French commissioners. The negotiations stopped

<sup>12</sup> The inscription had from the first challenged the attention of the French Academy in its sessions devoted to preparations for the expedition. One of the associates of the Academy, the Italian Marquis Scipion Maffei, was so moved that he composed a special sonnet and officially proposed that it be placed on the pyramids. The proposal was not accepted (La Condamine, *op. cit.*, p. 223).

<sup>13</sup> La Condamine insisted repeatedly upon this point and cited the words of the royal order dated August 14, 1734. In this order, which accorded the French scientists permission to make their observations, the king stated: He resuelto se destinen uno ú dos sujetos españoles inteligentes en la matemática y astronomía para que asistan con los menciados Franceses a todas las observaciones que hizieron y apuntan las que fueren executando (*ibid.*, p. 275).

<sup>14</sup> La Condamine, *op. cit.*, p. 227, and Mendiburu, *op. cit.*, V. 262.



short at this point; La Condamine proceeded with his plan to have his original inscription placed upon the pyramids, and Ulloa and Juan brought the matter before the audiencia at Quito.

After almost two years of litigation, the audiencia resolved on July 19, 1742, that the French commissioners should be allowed to set up the pyramids, with the proviso that confirmation of the privilege should be obtained within two years from the Council of the Indies, and that the names of the two Spanish officials should appear in the inscription with an exact statement of their rank as defined by the royal order.

Then followed five years of silence on *l'affaire de l'inscription*, during which the various members of the expedition made their way home. Suddenly, out of a clear sky, the audiencia in Quito received a royal order dated September 2, 1747, which, instead of granting the necessary final permission for the erection of the pyramids, commanded that the pyramids should be so completely destroyed that no fragment would remain. Although it is not clear who was responsible for this order, Juan and Ulloa, who were now back in Spain, do not appear to have had a hand in it. On the contrary, they exerted their influence to such effect that another royal order was issued which countermanded the first order and provided that the pyramids were not to be demolished but that the inscription was to be changed.<sup>15</sup> Both orders reached Quito at the same time, a circumstance which will not surprise those familiar with the workings of Spanish administration in colonial Peru. The final version of the inscription as ordered by the Marqués de la Ensenada, but dictated by Ulloa,<sup>16</sup> did not satisfy La Condamine. For the names of the two French ministers were omitted, the scientific calculations changed, and the official position of the two Spaniards was not precisely defined—at least in the opinion of La Condamine. Even so, it was not a complete victory for Ulloa: the names of the French scientists appeared first. The final version of the

<sup>15</sup> Mendiburu, *op. cit.*, V. 262.

<sup>16</sup> La Condamine, *op. cit.*, p. 262.



inscription, however, must have proved a considerable balm to his proud spirit, for after the phrase in *Peruviam missi* of the original version was inserted:

Simulque

Georgius Juan S. Joannis Hiero-Solymitani Ord. Eques,

Et Antonius de Ulloa,

Uterque Naviun Bellicarum Vice-Praefecti,

Et Mathematicis Disciplinis Eruditi

Catholici Regis Nutu, Auctoritate, Impensa

Ad Ejusdem Mentionis Negotium Eodem Allegati

Communi Labore, Industria, Consensu

In Hac Yaruquensi Planitie.<sup>17</sup>

Triumph though it was for Ulloa, La Condamine found many Spaniards to sympathize with him and support his stand against the young Spanish officers. And probably many of his contemporaries would have agreed with the opinion of the Marqués de Valle-umbroso, corregidor of Cuzco, who wrote to La Condamine on March 12, 1742:

The legal papers presented in this case would much more appropriately be given to Molière for one of his comedies than presented before a judicial tribunal.<sup>18</sup>

It may be unjust to describe the *Noticias Secretas* as having been "written by two boys at a time when it was fashionable to write snappy stuff about Spanish blundering in America", but whoever attempts to evaluate this secret report must remember that at the time these young men gathered their information in South America they were frequently embroiled in legal difficulties with the president of the audiencia and with the French commissioners. It is significant, too, to note that, throughout the course of this dispute, Ulloa continued to enjoy the respect and friendship of La Condamine,<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Mendiburu, *op. cit.*, V. 263, and La Condamine, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>18</sup> La Condamine, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-270.

<sup>19</sup> La Condamine referred to the affair, in his official report, as "un procès politique au sujet des pyramids et de l'inscription . . . qui n'a jamais altéré les sentimens d'estime et d'amitié dont j'ai toujours fait profession à leur égard, et dont ils ont paru m'honorer avant et depuis ce temps-là" (*ibid.*, p. 125).



who was inclined to believe that a pettifogging lawyer of Quito was responsible for much of the trouble.<sup>20</sup>

## II

The editor of this future critical edition of the *Noticias Secretas* will probably discover, however, that a much more important matter than the pyramid controversy is the question raised by Mr. Kirkpatrick:

Who are the authors who in the mid-eighteenth century set the fashion or followed the fashion of writing snappy stuff about Spanish America?

He may find that Ulloa was too independent and too intelligent to follow any fashion; that his criticisms of the Spanish colonial régime were the considered judgments of an experienced observer. It was the fashion in some quarters, however, to point the finger of scorn and derision at the work of Spain in America and, as a result, Spaniards of the time were very sensitive on the subject of Las Casas and his statistics. The problem of *Lascasismo* and anti-*Lascasismo* has always been a living issue in Spain since Las Casas first preached his doctrine—indeed, the controversy even now is flourishing in serious historical journals. The movement in Spain against Las Casas was particularly strong in the eighteenth century, and in 1748, the year that Ulloa probably wrote his secret report, the Casa de Contratación seized a Latin version of Las Casas's *Brevisima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* and prevented its shipment to the Indies under the impression that it was prohibited by royal order. When informed of this action, the Council of the Indies turned the case over to its fiscal, who reported that he could find no such royal order but had no doubt that there was one, inasmuch as the book was designed to defame the illustrious conquistadores of the new world and to represent the Spanish nation in an odious light.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>21</sup> Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General 340. Letter of the Audiencia de la Contratación to the Council of the Indies, dated October 28, 1748.



The inquisition, he reported, had put the book on the index and the council therefore sent the book to the Holy Office.<sup>22</sup> Though the Bishop of Yucatan, Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, in his *Bibliotheca Mexicana* described Las Casas as *Notissimus laudatissimusque Chiapae Episcopus . . . Americae nostrae ornamentum*,<sup>23</sup> few persons in Spain or America had much use for him or his statistics on the mortality of the Indians.

<sup>22</sup> Las Casas spoke and wrote with perfect freedom and the inquisition never once investigated his doctrine during his lifetime, so far as present records show. After his death the *Brevísima Relación* was put on the index (León Carbonero y Sol, *Índice de los libros prohibidos por el santo oficio de la Inquisición española* (Madrid, 1873), p. 154). According to Juan Antonio Llorente, one of Las Casas's works was denounced to the inquisition during his lifetime on the charge that it opposed the teaching of St. Peter and St. Paul concerning the proper submission of serfs and vassals to their lords. No action was taken and the work was printed. Llorente gives no adequate evidence, however, for his statement (*Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, II. (Paris, 1817), 434. Other authors have claimed that the Las Casas tract entitled "Utrum reges" was suppressed "avec la plus grande exactitude" because of its doctrine on the powers of princes over their subjects; see Gabriel Peignot (*Dictionnaire critique, littéraire et bibliographique des principaux livres condamnés au feu, supprimés ou censurés*, I. (Paris, 1806), 232). There may be some truth in this because the bibliophile Guillaume-François De Bure could find only the 1625 Tübingen edition of this tract (*Bibliographie Instructive* (Paris, 1764), No. 1355). The exact date on which the *Brevísima* was first prohibited by the inquisition remains to be ascertained. In 1659, the *calificador* of the inquisition of Aragon delivered the opinion that "este libro contiene una relación de cosas muy terribles y fieras cuales no se leen en las historias de otras naciones, y el autor las dice de los soldados españoles y pobladores de las Indias y ministros del Rey Católico. Parece se debían cojer estas narraciones por injuriosas a la nación española". On June 3, 1660, having considered this opinion, the Holy Tribunal sitting at Saragossa ordered the book prohibited (Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Papeles de Inquisición, Legajo 4480, No. 21). The inquisition continued to take action against Spaniards who criticized their colonial régime until the early nineteenth century at least. Miguel Cabral de Noroña in 1805 preached a sermon in the Canaries in which he made statements "poco honrosas a los Reyes Católicos, conquistadores de las Américas, y de estas islas, y a la nación entera". Among other charges, the preacher asserted that thirty million natives were butchered during the conquest—a detail which he may have learned from a reading of the *Brevísima Relación*. The process is in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Papeles de Inquisición, Legajo 4505, No. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. I (Mexico, 1755), p. 363.



The only important eighteenth-century Spaniard who did not try to discredit Las Casas was that interesting and contentious Benedictine, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro. In his widely read *Teatro crítico universal* (1730), in which he fought vigorously against what he considered the prevailing ignorance and superstition as well as against national and social prejudices, he frankly accepted the conclusions Las Casas reached in the *Brevísima Relación* and asked

¿Que importará que yo estampé en este libro lo que está gritando todo el Orbe? Vanos han sido cuantos esfuerzos se hicieron para minorar el crédito a los clamores del señor Bartolomé de Las Casas.

And he concluded on a note that many French representatives of the enlightenment might have struck

¿Quien os parece que arde en más voraces llamos en el infierno, el Indio, idólatra ciego, o el Español cruel y sanguinario? Fácil es decidir la duda. En aquél la falta de instrucción minora el delito; a éste, el conocimiento de la verdad se le agrava.<sup>24</sup>

Feijóo, however, was clearly not a truly representative figure of his time, as may be seen from the multitudinous polemics written against him, and in America, as well as Spain, writers launched counter attacks against the *Brevísima Relación* both before and after Feijóo's defense. Earlier, in 1720, Friar Gaspar de San Agustín in his famous letter on the Philippine natives had attacked Las Casas,<sup>25</sup> as later did the Peruvian José Eusebio Llano y Zapata in his *Memorias histórico-físicas-apologéticas de la América meridional*<sup>26</sup> and the Jesuit Domingo Muriel in his *Fasti Novis*<sup>27</sup> and *Rudimenta Juris Naturae et Gentium*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Teatro crítico universal*, Discurso décimo, No. XVII. Valuable biographical and bibliographical information by Agustín Millares Carlo may be found in his recent edition of the *Teatro*, I. (Madrid, 1923), 1-86.

<sup>25</sup> Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands*, XI. (Cleveland, 1906), 191-192.

<sup>26</sup> Bernard Moses, *Spanish Colonial Literature* (New York, 1922), p. 493. Llano denounced the writings of Las Casas as false and exaggerated, and condemned them as utterances unworthy of a Spaniard.

<sup>27</sup> (Venice, 1776), Ordinationem 59.

<sup>28</sup> (Venice, 1791), Lib. 2, dis. IV.



Copies of the *Brevísima Relación* continued to be confiscated in the attempt to keep them out of the new world.<sup>29</sup> Ramón Diosdado Caballero, apparently in reply to a request from the minister, José de Gálvez, for a formal statement concerning the confiscation of Las Casas's works, sent in 1784 from Rome an opinion with which most Spaniards of the time would have concurred:

Las observaciones del Fraile Casas van escritas con alguna fiereza. Ha me parecido usarla, porque es infinito el daño, que nos hace con sus imposturas. En libros, papeles, conversaciones etca. se nos quiere cerrar la boca con la autoridad de este hombre. He tirado a descubrir su carácter, valiéndome de la pintura, que nos dieron de él sus contemporáneos. Débense de una vez derrocar de veras los Altares de adoración, que sin saber porque fuera de la Enemiga pública, o secreta contra nuestra Nación, logra este frenético Autor. Por mucho mal que digo de él con verdad, siempre será incomparablemente menos de lo que con falsedad dijo contra la Nación. Si por ventura Ésta se hallare aun en el estado de un supersticioso respeto por las Personas Religiosas, etc., parecerá demasiado acre mi estilo. Pero yo no he podido moderarle, porque he leído muchas veces los libelos de Casas, capaces de trocar en furor la más sufrida mansedumbre.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Cartas de Indias, Caja 2, No. 59. "Carta original de D. Juan Antonio Enríquez al José de Gálvez dándole cuenta de haber recogida una obra del obispo . . . Las Casas y otros varios libros americanos". On the subject of how history was to be written in order to conform to eighteenth-century standards, see José María Chacón y Calvo, "El Consejo de Indias y la historia de América", *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo* (Santander, 1932). It is possible that Spanish sensitiveness to criticism was responsible for delaying the publication of José del Campillo y Cossío's *Nuevo sistema de Gobierno económico para la América, con los malos y daños que le causa el que hoy tiene . . . y remedios*. Written in 1743, the work did not appear in print until 1789, "probably on account of the unpleasant truths it contains relating to the treatment of the unfortunate Indians", surmised Obadiah Rich, *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, Part I (London, 1835), 360. Sabin states, likewise, that publication of Vol. II of Muñoz's *Historia del nuevo Mundo* "was stopped because the results were not altogether complimentary to the Spanish nation". But he supports this statement with no evidence and in Fernández Duro's "Juan Bautista Muñoz" there is no mention of this suppression (*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XLII. (1903), 5-59).

<sup>30</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Cartas de Indias, Caja 2, No. 68. In the Palacio Nacional (Madrid) exists in manuscript a work of 230 folios by the



Las Casas, therefore, was the ultimate source of much of the "snappy stuff" written on the Spanish colonies in the eighteenth century, at least according to Ramón Caballero.<sup>31</sup>

An examination of the books printed in the eighteenth century whose authors criticized the Spanish colonies would seem to support Caballero's charge. It is interesting to note that no *leyenda negra* seems to have flourished in Germany,<sup>32</sup> and that English writers preserved a relatively judicial temper in their writings on the Spanish colonies in America. Edmund Burke, in his *Account of European Settlements in America*<sup>33</sup> (1757), does not denounce Spanish colonial practice and William Robertson's *History of America* (1777) was favorably received in Spain itself, as, indeed, it should have been, because Robertson explicitly stated in his preface:

I am satisfied, that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however reprehensible the action of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favorable light.<sup>34</sup>

The Spanish Royal Academy of History recognized the value of the work, elected Robertson a corresponding member, and

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same author, entitled "Consideraciones Americanas. Excelencia de la América Española sobre las Extrangeras, decidida con hechos". This MS. is No. 7 in Jesús Domínguez Bordona's very useful *Manuscritos de América* (Madrid, 1935), which is Vol. IX of the "Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Palacio". Ramón Diosdado Caballero was also interested in "Medios para estrechar la union entre los españoles, americanos y europeos", for such is the title of another of his manuscript works listed in the same catalogue (No. 225).

<sup>31</sup> Of course Las Casas was not the only source for anti-Spanish writers. The *Relaciones* of Antonio Pérez served the same purpose and the Don Carlos story, for example, was kept alive by many treatments in the principal European languages. Here again the number of French works exceed all the rest—F. W. C. Lieder, "The Don Carlos Theme", in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XII, (1930), 1-73.

<sup>32</sup> Arturo Farinelli, "Spanien und die spanische Literatur im Lichte der deutschen Kritik und Poesie", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, neue Folge, V. (1892), 277-332.

<sup>33</sup> Vol. I (London, 1808), 163 ff. Not every English writer was judicial, as may be seen from Thomas Jefferys, *The Present State of the West Indies* (London, 1778), p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Fourth ed. (London, 1783), p. x.



arranged for a translation to be made at once by a member of the academy. The fact that this translation was subsequently prohibited was due not to a feeling that the work discredited Spain but because Spain was just about to join France in war against England and it was not deemed proper to publish an English book.<sup>35</sup>

Italian writers of the century, on the other hand, maintained no such judicial attitude and on the whole were definitely pro-Spanish. When Masson enquired from the lofty heights of the *Encyclopédie methodique*:

What does the world owe to Spain? During the last two hundred years, four hundred years; nay, one thousand years—what has Spain done for Europe,

the abbot Carlo Giacomo María Denina delivered in Berlin before the academy an impassioned defense of Spanish culture entitled *Riposta alla domanda: che si dee alla Spagna?*<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Rómulo D. Carbia, *La crónica oficial de las Indias Occidentales* (La Plata, 1935), p. 244 ff. B. Sánchez Alonso asserts, however, that Charles III. prohibited the book because "he feared that the book might prejudice the good name of Spain", *Fuentes de la Historia española e hispanoamericana*, I. (Madrid, 1927), 271. But Sánchez Alonso gives no proof. To settle definitively the question, recourse must be made to the manuscript in the Palacio Nacional (Madrid) entitled: "Examen de la historia de América escrita por el Dr. Guillermo Robertson . . . con una copia de carta escrita por el Illmo. Sr. Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes al autor participándole su admisión en la Academia de Historia; y su respuesta, y conclusión de este asunto prohibiendo s. m. la impresión y publicación de esta obra en España y sus dominios", Ayala collection, vol. 31, fols. 47-101. See also the hundred-page manuscript in the British Museum, "Discurso que sirve de prólogo á la Historia de América del Dr. Robertson, con reflexiones", Add. MSS. 17, 633.

<sup>36</sup> Berlin, 1786. Spanish editions appeared at Valencia and Cadiz during the same year as did a French edition which issued from the Royal Press in Madrid. Masson was the subject of a biographical sketch by J. J.-A. Bertrand in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXIV. (1922), 120-124. That Spaniards are still interested in the question may be seen from V. Peset's *Lo que debe a España la cultural mundial* (Madrid, 1930), which is a full length apologia with separate chapters on the various aspects of Spanish cultural activity. The author refers (p. 149) to the "obra atribuída a Las Casas". Also Gabriel Maura Gamazo, in his "discurso de ingreso" before the Academia Española, spoke on "Algunos Testimonios históricos contra la falsa Tesis de la Decadencia Nacional".



Especially, was Spain's work in America most emphatically supported in Italy. Count Gian Rinaldo Carli in his *Delle Lettre Americane*<sup>37</sup> contradicted De Pauw's statements, and Filippo Salvatore Gilij likewise supported the Spanish point of view in his *Saggio di storia americana*, wherein he referred to the *inverisimilitudine* of Las Casas.<sup>38</sup> Gilij, a Jesuit banished from America, was honored with a pension by Charles III. for having in this work "vindicated the Spanish nation and government from the calumnies of foreigners."<sup>39</sup>

The most important and widely circulated Italian apologetic for the Spanish régime was probably Giovanni Nuix's *Riflessioni imparziali sopra l'umanità degli Spagnuoli nell' Indie per servire di lume alle Storie de Raynal e Robertson*, which first appeared at Venice in 1780. This eloquent and determined attack upon those who denounced Spain's work in America (and particularly those who founded their charges on Las Casas) was translated into Spanish by the secretary of the Royal Council in Madrid. Royal permission for the Spanish edition was granted in 1781 and the book appeared in Madrid the next year. In 1783, a second Spanish translation was made by the author's brother and it appeared in Cervara, with considerable additional material.<sup>40</sup> Through-

<sup>37</sup> 2 vols., Cosmopoli, 1780.

<sup>38</sup> Vol. IV. (Rome, 1784), 8.

<sup>39</sup> Obadiah Rich, *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, Part I (London, 1835), p. 292.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 320. Other Italian apologetics which appeared a little later are Mariano Llorente's *Saggio apologetico degli storici e conquistatori spagnuoli dell' America* (Parma, 1804) and the *Cartas Mejicanas escritas por D. Benito María de Moxó y de Franco* el año de 1805 (Genoa, n. d.). The last-named author aimed to correct the histories of Robertson and De Pauw and ridiculed the "exaggerations" of Las Casas. Useful notes on the subject may be found in Rubén Vargas Ugarte's *Don Benito María de Moxó y de Franco, Arzobispo de Charcas* (Buenos Aires, 1931), pp. 52-54. Another work on the same theme, which apparently was never published, is Juan Arteta's "Difesa della Spagna e della sua America Meridionale fatta da Dn. Giovanni Arteta Spano-Americano contro i falsi pregiudizi, o Filosofico-Politici Ragionamenti d'un Moderno Storico divisa in due parti, contenente la 1a la difessa della Spagna; la 2a quella della di lei America Meridionale". The MS. is listed in Jesús Domínguez Bordona's *Manuscritos de América* (Madrid, 1935), No. 539. It appears from another of Arteta's writings (*ibid.*, No. 2) that he was defending Spain and America from the attacks of Raynal.



out the late eighteenth century these "impartial reflections" gave much comfort to Spaniards<sup>41</sup> seeking shelter from the barrage of anti-Spanish books pouring from the presses across the Pyrenees.<sup>42</sup>

For it was in France that the fashion was set of writing "snappy stuff". As the learned Farinelli has observed,

throughout all of the eighteenth century, scarcely one voice was heard in France that did not express disdain for a nation which was believed to have voluntarily submerged itself in ignorance, and to be full of friars and clerics.<sup>43</sup>

"Not all Spaniards, however, considered Nuix's work an adequate defense. Juan Sempere y Guarinos admitted that the author's "reflexiones pueden servir para reparar en algún modo la malignidad con que algunos extrangeros han hablado de los Españoles tocante a su conducta en el descubrimiento y gobierno de las Indias. Pero es menester confesar que sus relaciones no han carecido enteramente de fundamento", but felt that "el Señor Nuix hubiera hecho un servicio más importante y más honroso á la nación, manifestando a los extrangeros las providencias útiles que se van tomando por el Ministerio español, para cortar los abusos del gobierno de América, que no con disculparnos" (*Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III*, III. (Madrid, 1786), 154-156).

"Spaniards also rose to defend their nation. Pedro Jiménez de Góngora, who used the pseudonym Eduardo Malo de Luque, started his *Historia política de los Establecimientos ultramarinos de las Naciones europeas* (Madrid, 1784-1790) and completed five volumes of a projected great work. Spaniards considered themselves attacked on all fronts, not merely on their work in America. It was in this period that Juan Francisco de Masdeu compiled his *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española* (1783-1805), which required twenty volumes to reach the eleventh century. Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor began in 1787 to edit the *Seminario Erudito*, a serious journal in which he published the works of the best Spanish authors, ancient and modern. Thus would be shown to the world the glories of Spain to counteract "la nota de desidiosa que muchos Extranjeros, y algunos Españoles, ponen a nuestra Nación". Valuable notes on this question may be found in Ramón Ríaza's chapter on "Las polémicas alrededor de la cultura española" in his *Historia de la Literatura jurídica española* (Madrid, 1930), in *La Leyenda Negra* of Julián Juderías, and in Rafael Altamira's *Psicología del Pueblo español*.

"*Revista Crítica de Historia y Literatura Españolas, Portuguesas é Hispano-Americanas*, año II (1897), p. 7. See also Joseph Texte, "L'Espagne et la critique française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 4<sup>e</sup>me année, 1<sup>ère</sup> série (1896), pp. 605-614). Some French scholars have not been eager to dwell upon the influence of Las Casas in forming French opinion on Spain. Alfred Morel-Fatio, for example, in a study on "Comment la France a connu et compris



A copious literature sprang up, particularly on the Spanish colonies, and the accounts were usually based on Las Casas. French authors had availed themselves of the horrific Las Casas statistics as soon as French editions of the *Brevísima Relación* appeared in the sixteenth century,<sup>44</sup> but it was the eighteenth-century rationalists who exploited the subject on a large scale. It was a splendid field, of course, for the exercise of their talents.

Montesquieu in his *Lettres Persanes* helped to set the fashion of depicting Spain as the land of fanaticism and ignorance and in his infrequent references to America in *L'Esprit des Lois* seems to have based his remarks concerning slavery and cruelty toward the Indians on Thomas Gage's *A New Survey of the West Indies* (1648) and on the French translations of López de Gómara's *La Historia de las Indias y Conquista de México* (1552).<sup>45</sup> Voltaire, however, in his *Essai sur les Moeurs, Candide*, and *Alzire* drew largely upon Las Casas to illustrate the thesis that Spaniards in America were cruel,

l'Espagne depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à nos jours", never once mentioned the *Brevísima Relación* in his *Études sur l'Espagne*, first series (Paris, 1888), pp. 1-114. It should be pointed out that French anti-Spanish literature was no new phenomenon to the eighteenth century as Joaquín López Barrera shows in his "Literatura francesa hispanófila en los siglos XVI y XVII" (*Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, año VII (1925), 83-95, 152-164, 379-395).

"The first French edition appeared in 1579, and shortly afterward were published works of Seigneur de Cholières and Jean Bouchet which show that they had read Las Casas [see G. L. Michaud, "The Spanish sources of certain sixteenth-century French writers" (*Modern Language Notes*, XLIII. (1928), 161-163].

"Muriel Dodds, *Les Récits de Voyages sources de L'Esprit des Lois de Montesquieu* (Paris, 1929), pp. 127-128. Gage of course was familiar with the *Brevísima Relación*, and so Las Casas may have indirectly influenced Montesquieu. It is interesting to note that Montesquieu incorrectly stated that López de Gómara wrote that the Spaniards founded their right to enslave the Indians on two counts: first, that they smoked tobacco, and secondly, that they did not wear beards in the Spanish fashion. As Muriel Dodds points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 127-128), even Montesquieu sometimes neglected to verify his references and plucked this juicy morsel from a book review in the *Bibliothèque Anglaise*. López de Gómara's influence in France apparently was a real one dating from the sixteenth century. It is certain, for example, that Montaigne used his works, [see Pierre Villey, *Les Livres d'Histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne* (Paris, 1908), pp. 76-96, 235].



ruthless fanatics who oppressed the natives—their bodies and souls alike.<sup>46</sup> De Pauw considered Pope Paul III.'s famous bull *Sublimis Deus* of 1537, which declared the Indians capable of receiving the faith, to be supremely absurd, for, as he wrote:

At first the American natives were not considered men but orang-outangs which might be destroyed without remorse and without reproach. Finally, to add ridiculousness to the calamities of that time, a Pope issued a bull in which he declared that, having founded bishoprics in the richest parts of America, he and the Holy Spirit were pleased to recognize the Americans as true men. So that without that decision of an Italian the inhabitants of the new world would still be, in the eyes of the faithful, a race of animals of doubtful nature. There is no example of a similar decision since the world was inhabited by apes and by men.<sup>47</sup>

The reading of the *Requerimiento*, that curious document by which conquistadores announced to the natives that they must accept Christianity and acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Spain, or suffer death or slavery as a result of a "just" war, was also cited by De Pauw as evidence of the all-pervading folly of human nature. As he stated it,

the discovery of a new world which changed the face of the universe, which plucked astronomy, geography, and physics out of the profound darkness which enveloped them, was accompanied by circumstances extremely bizarre and ridiculous as a result of the fatality attached to the action of man.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> An excellent study has been made by Alfonso de Salvio, "Voltaire and Spain", *Hispania*, VII. (1924), 69-110, 157-164. For the use made by Voltaire of Las Casas, see especially pp. 86-92.

<sup>47</sup> *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espèce humaine*, I. (Cleves, 1772), 38. It is not surprising that when examined by the Spanish Inquisition on August 28, 1777, De Pauw's work was adjudged to be "lleno de Injurias a la Nación Española, principalmente a los conquistadores, tratándolos a éstos y a todos de Bárbaros, Ladrones, Crueles, inhumanos", Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Papeles de Inquisición, Legajo 4465, no. 4. The report was given by friars Christóval Lomo and Antonio Baquero.

<sup>48</sup> De Pauw was not the only eighteenth-century writer who delivered thunderous opinions on America based on slight acquaintance with the facts, as may be seen from Louis Baudin's "L'empire des Incas d'après quelques écrivains français des 16, 17, et 18 siècles", *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*, XXI. (1921), 22-29.



It should be pointed out that the French rationalists felt no special animus against Spain. Spain's behavior in the new world was merely used to illustrate the universality of the folly they were always unmasking. As Jean François Marmontel, who greatly revered Las Casas, wrote in the preface to his book *Les Incas, ou la Destruction de l'Empire* (1777):

Toutes les Nations ont eu leurs brigands et leurs fanatiques, leurs temps de barbarie, leurs accès de fureur. Les plus estimables sont celles qui s'en accusent. Les Espagnols ont eu cette fierté, digne de leur caractère. Jamais l'Histoire n'a rien tracé de plus touchant, de plus terrible, que les malheurs du Nouveau Monde, dans le Livre de Las-Casas.<sup>49</sup>

And Raynal, whose *Histoire philosophique et politique des Établissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770) probably circulated more widely than any other eighteenth-century French work on the Spanish colonies, confessed, "I almost always write history with my eyes bathed in tears". Raynal's tears, too, were caused by the revelations made by Las Casas, of whom he wrote:

Il parle, il agit, il cite sa nation au tribunal de l'univers entier, il fait frémir d'horreur les deux hémisphères. O Las-Casas! tu fus plus grand par ton humanité que tous tes compatriotes ensemble par leurs conquêtes. S'il arrivoit, dans les siècles à venir, que les infortunées contrées qu'ils ont envahies se repeuplassent, & qu'il y eut des lois, des mœurs, de la justice, de la liberté, la première statue qu'on y élèveroit seroit la tienne. On te verroit t'interposer entre l'Américain & l'Espagnol, & présenter, pour sauver l'un, ta poitrine au poignard de l'autre. On liroit sur le pied de ce monument: DANS UN SIÈCLE DE FEROCITÉ, LAS-CASAS, QUE TU VOIS, FUT UN HOMME BIENFAISANT. En attendant, ton nom restera gravé dans toutes les âmes sensibles; & lorsque tes compatriotes rougiront de la barbarie de leurs prétendus héros, ils se glorifieront de tes vertus. Puissent ces temps heureux n'être pas aussi éloignés que je l'apprehende!<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Vol. I. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Geneva, 1781, IV. 1, 221.



One of the few French authors who questioned the complete veracity of Las Casas was the Jesuit Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix in his *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue* (1730).<sup>51</sup> At the end of the century, François de Pons made his well known travels in America and in the published account of his experiences he drew a fairly objective picture of Spanish colonial life. He even defended the *encomienda* system,<sup>52</sup> perhaps the first non-Spaniard to have spoken a good word in its favor; but Charlevoix and De Pons were exceptions to the general rule.

The answer, then, to Mr. Kirkpatrick's question would be: French writers were chiefly responsible for setting the fashion of writing "snappy stuff" in the eighteenth century on the Spanish colonies,<sup>53</sup> and the writings of Las Casas supplied much of the information on which they based their supercilious and sarcastic essays.

The uses to which these French rationalists put the works

<sup>51</sup> Charlevoix recognized at least that "son seul défaut étoit d'avoir l'imagination trop vive, et de s'en trop laisser dominer" (I. 333) and admitted, concerning the *Brevísima*, "qu'il regne dans son Ouvrage un air de vivacité et d'exaggeration, qui prévient un peu contre lui, et que les faits, qu'il rapporte, sans être altérés dans la substance, ont sous sa plume, je ne sçai quoi d'odieux et de criant, qu'il pouvoit peut-être adoucir" (I. 478).

<sup>52</sup> *Voyage en Amerique*, I. (Paris, 1806), 85-89.

<sup>53</sup> The only eighteenth-century Frenchmen I have been able to find who did seriously question the veracity of the *Brevísima Relación* were the Dominicans Jacques Quétif and Jacques Échard, who rejected the theory that the treatise had been written by a Frenchman and then palmed off as a Spanish book, but added: "Nec vero dedecus sibi putent Hispani, talia apud eos monstra nata esse, apud quas enim nationes non similia eruperunt hominum portenta? An erga miseros Indos aequiores fuerunt, qui eos e suis ejecerunt sedibus, terras eorum invaserunt eadem cupiditate moti Lusitani, Angli, Galli, Sweci, ac prae caeteris in occidente et oriente Batavi? sed immortale est gentis Hispanae decus, quod ejus reges nunquam id permiserint, probarint nunquam, imo severissimis legibus prohibuerint licet non semper auditi: quod ubi scelerati illi *conquistadores* avaritia sua excaecati, Indos bestias non homines, non anima rationali praeditos sustinere ausi sunt, consilia regia id non respuerint modo sed et exhorruerint: denique quod viros apud se sapientissimos habuerit, quales Bartholomaeus noster et alii innumeri, qui se Indorum patronos exhibuerint, gentilium suorum errorem non dissimularint, ac in ordinem omnia tandem aliquando reduci obtinuerint". *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, II. (Paris, 1721), 194.



of the patriotic and religious Las Casas may well have caused the good Bishop of Chiapa to turn in his grave. Voltaire was not the first, nor the last, to avail himself of the exaggerations in the *Brevisima Relación* for strange purposes. For example, Sir Walter Raleigh invoked Las Casas to heat the blood and loosen the purse strings of Englishmen hitherto unaroused to the advantages of expansion overseas and of a general attack upon the Spanish dominions in the new world. One of his schemes was to have the

las Casas booke of the Spanish cruelties with fayr pictures . . . sent to the Inga, and his Cassiques by some interpreters, that thei may publish them among their vassals, and to all estates of the confining countryes rounde about that thei may bee all (as much as it is possible) conjoynly linked, and exasperated against the Spaniards.<sup>54</sup>

The effect that the Las Casas tract had on one Englishman may be gauged from Raleigh's description:

The sighes, grones, lamentacions, teares, and bloud of so many millions of innocent men, women, and children afflicted, robbed, reuiled, branded with hot irons, roasted, dismembered, mangled, stabbed, whipped, racked, scalded with hott oyle, suet, and hogsgrease, put to the strapado, ripped alive, beheaded in sport, drowned, dashd against the rocks, famished, deuored by mastifes, burned and by infinite crueltyes consvmed.

In the face of these atrocities, Raleigh demanded:

Who would not bee encouraged to proceed in this voiage, hauing in a maner none other enemies but these Spaniards, abhorred of God, and man.<sup>55</sup>

The legend of Spanish cruelty was carried to the English colonies in North America and has never entirely departed

<sup>54</sup> *The Discoverie of the large and bewtiful Empire of Guiana by Sir Walter Raleigh*, V. T. Harlow, ed. (London, 1928), pp. 143-144.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140. Another interesting Englishman who invoked Las Casas was the spy Robert Hodgson, who spent several years in the latter part of the eighteenth century trying to convince the Mosquito Indians that the Spaniards were "enemigos comunes, matadores de sus castas, y verdugos de la libertad" (José Torre Revello, "Escritos hallados en poder del espía inglés, Robert Hodgson, 1783", in *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, V. (1926), 81-82.



from these regions. Even before the Pilgrims left Holland, the gruesome pictures of the "Spanish butchers" at their bloody work, as delineated in the numerous illustrated Dutch editions of Las Casas brought out to assist the revolution in the Low Countries against Spain, served to "deter the Leyden congregation from adventuring within the reach of so cruel and murderous fanatics".<sup>56</sup>

An even more curious use was made of Las Casas by the southern theorists interested in defending Negro slavery in the decades before the Civil War. The fact that Las Casas once favored the introduction of Negro slaves to labor for the Spaniards instead of his beloved Indians (an act which he later bitterly repented) led the chief apologists for the south to invoke the authority of "the good Bishop Las Casas". Professor W. S. Jenkins shows in his solid work on *The Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1935) that Las Casas's influence on the southern mind was a real one.<sup>57</sup>

Therefore, when Voltaire drew largely upon Las Casas to help him set the fashion of writing "snappy stuff" on America, he was only one of a number of individuals who quarried out of the vast mine of information embodied in Las Casas's works the material which was to exert a strange and wondrous influence in various parts of the world.

<sup>56</sup> William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc. ed., I. (Boston, 1912), 60. Puritan leaders such as Cotton Mather were familiar with Las Casas (*Magnalia Christi Americana*, I. 573), and Samuel Sewall records that in 1700 the president of Harvard had requested him to send for two copies of Las Casas (Thomas G. Wright, *Literary Culture in early New England* (New Haven, 1920), p. 117). When the Massachusetts Historical Society sent out a call for books to furnish its library, Thomas Walcott obliged in April, 1791, by contributing a "History of Spanish Cruelty in the West Indies" by Las Casas (*Proceedings*, Mass. Hist. Soc., First series, I. 11); and in his standard *History of New England*, Daniel Neal included the usual account of the cruel Spaniards, based on Las Casas, I. (2d ed., London, 1747), 284.

<sup>57</sup> In a letter to the writer dated December 11, 1935, Professor Jenkins wrote: "My opinion is that Las Casas' influence on the Southern mind merits study and my prediction is that such a study will show that slaveholders were generally familiar with him and made a considerable use of his writings—especially those interested in the moral defense of slavery and those that developed the argument based on prophecy".



## III

Finally, whoever seeks to place the *Noticias Secretas* in their proper setting must plunge into a study of the multitude of propagandist works published during the period of the Spanish American revolutions, which doubtless produced a market for "snappy stuff" on the horrors of life under the Spanish yoke. Whatever may have been David Barry's motive in bringing out in London a Spanish edition of the secret report of 1826, it is entirely possible that the publisher, at least, realized that Ulloa's revelations would have a sale in Spanish America.<sup>58</sup> For in the British Museum copy of the work appears, printed upon a fly leaf inserted in much the way errata are inserted in some books, the following notice, evidently intended for subscribers:

La publicación de este libro en Europa se ha detenido algún tiempo para dar lugar á que llegase á los varios Estados de la América Española el surtido de ejemplares destinados á aquellos países.

La traducción en inglés está imprimiéndose.

Who has ever seen a copy of this English edition? The two abridged English translations published later in Boston<sup>59</sup> are well known but the fly-leaf notice does not seem to refer

<sup>58</sup> Not many copies were printed and almost all were sent to America, according to the bibliographer Pedro Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salva*, II. (Valencia, 1872), 739. Salvá may have obtained firsthand knowledge from his father Vincent Salvá, who was also a bibliographer and who brought out in London *A Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese Books* in 1826. Certainly the work was read and used in some parts of Spanish America, for J. V. Lastarria frequently cites it and states that "a ella sujetaré mis conceptos, porque en todo es aplicable a nuestro pueblo y a los demás que sufrieron la dominación española" (*Investigaciones sobre la Influencia social de la Conquista i del Sistema colonial de los Españoles en Chile* (Santiago, 1844), p. 87).

<sup>59</sup> The first American edition, an abridged translation of Part 2, appeared in 1851, entitled *Secret expedition to Peru, or, The practical influence of the Spanish colonial System upon the Character and Habits of the Colonists, exhibited in a private Report read to the Secretaries of his Majesty, Ferdinand VI, King of Spain*, by George J. and Anthony Ulloa. A reprint came out in 1878 entitled *Popery judged by its fruits: as brought to view in the Diary of two distinguished Scholars and Philanthropists, John and Anthony Ulloa, during a Sojourn of several Years in the States of Colombia and Peru*.



to these because they were "translated by an American". David Barry is supposed to have published in 1821 in London a work entitled *Reports on South America*,<sup>60</sup> which may be the English edition in the press in 1826, but thus far this book has eluded the writer. What happened to this English edition? Was it lost, burned, stolen, suppressed, or did it perish by inanition? This question may well give the future editor of the *Noticias Secretas* some sleepless nights, and when he has solved this puzzle he might turn to the problem of the history of the German translation which was once announced as having been published in Tübingen in 1827.<sup>61</sup> The writer has yet to discover a library which possesses this work.

Whatever may be the solution of these minor bibliographical points, it is important to realize that the *Noticias Secretas* came as the culmination—whether by design or otherwise—of a campaign of propaganda against Spain in which Las Casas was again dragged forth for the greater defamation of his country. A veritable rash of *Brevísima Relación* reprints broke out during the revolutionary period. Editions—all in Spanish—appeared in London (1812), Bogotá (1813), Puebla (Mexico, 1821),<sup>62</sup> Philadelphia (1821), Guadalajara (1822), and Mexico City (1822).<sup>63</sup> Copies of these editions are ex-

<sup>60</sup> Listed in *The English Catalogue of Books*, Robert Alexander Peddie, ed. (London, 1914), p. 42. As Whitaker points out (in footnote on p. 172), the writer in the *Quarterly Review*, who seems to have been personally acquainted with Barry, said that Barry was planning an English translation of the *Noticias Secretas*.

<sup>61</sup> Cited in C. G. F. Reise, "Bartholomeo de Las Casas" (*Zeitschrift für die historische Théologie*, IV. (1834), 171). It should also be mentioned that a part of the *Noticias Secretas* was published in a Montevideo journal in 1851, but the journal suspended publication before the book was completed (Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispano-Americano*, III. (Barcelona, 1925), 141).

<sup>62</sup> This edition bears the title *Destrucción de las Indias, o sea su Conquista; publicada en Sevilla el año de 1552 por . . . Bartolome de las Casas . . . Ahora la da á luz un ciudadano en obsequio de su nacion*.

<sup>63</sup> The hatred of the Creoles for the peninsular Spaniards is well known and needed little stimulation from the works of Las Casas. Miguel Cabrera de Hevares asserted that he had seen "un criollo presentarse delante de la Junta representativa del pueblo pidiendo permiso para matar á su padre por ser Español" (*Memoria sobre el estado actual de las Americanas y medio de pacificarlas* (Madrid, 1821), p. 8).



tremely scarce but they may all be found in the New York Public Library, which has the most complete collection of printed Las Casasiana in the world. Not only was the *Brevisima Relación* widely printed, but in 1822 the emigré, Juan Antonio Llorente, one-time secretary of the inquisition, printed a two-volume edition of the works of Las Casas and issued it in Paris in both Spanish and French. Strangely enough, the Spanish Royal Academy of History had decided in 1821 to sponsor the publication of the monumental *Historia de las Indias* of Las Casas. The committee appointed to prepare the manuscript for the press labored three months over the first volume, which contained 668 folios, and then refused to proceed, and advised the academy that the work should not be allowed to appear. At first, the committee reported, it had attempted to make the necessary

observaciones que ofrecía la materia de que se trataba; pero al fin de tan ímprobo trabajo, juzgó la Junta que esta obra no podía publicarse por las prolijas e importunas digresiones que hacen pesada y fastidiosa su lectura, y porque, contradiciendo siempre el derecho de los españoles a la conquista y acriminando perpetuamente su conducta, pareció que en circunstancias presentes, ni sería conveniente ni oportuna su publicación, ni decoroso a la nación el autorizarla.<sup>64</sup>

The committee reflected the opinion prevailing in Spain—an opinion so widespread that when Manuel José Quintana published a few years later his well-known life of Las Casas, which still deserves to be read, he expected unfavorable criticism and realized, as he stated in his preface, that he would be accused of having

poco afecto al honor de su país, cuando tan francamente adopta los sentimientos y principios del protector de los indios, cuyos imprudentes escritos han sido la ocasión de tanto escándalo, y suministrado tantas armas á los detractores de las glorias españoles.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> "Informe inédito de 1821 sobre la historia general de Indias del Rvdo. P. Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas" (*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXVIII. (1921), 278.

<sup>65</sup> *Vidas de Españoles Célebres*, III. (Madrid, 1833), xii-xiii. The Academy also voted against the publication of the work in 1857 and not until 1871 did the



It should be emphasized, too, that the *Brevisima Relación* was not only reprinted during the revolutionary period. It was used, and used deliberately, to discredit Spain. As one important revolutionary leader declared, "the best way to combat Spain is to spread broadcast throughout the entire world the books of Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas".<sup>66</sup> Whether the numerous reprints referred to above were a consequence of this advice would be a difficult point to prove, but it is known for certain that one of the arguments invoked by some of the revolutionary leaders to justify themselves was the cruelty of Spain toward the Indians<sup>67</sup> and the authority of Las Casas was used to support this charge. The logic of such an argument when used by a descendant of the conquistadores is difficult to follow. The Liberator Bolívar, for example, with two and a half centuries of Spanish forebears in Venezuela behind him, fulminated against the deeds of Spain in America. His letters show that he was quite familiar with the description of the conquest as given by "el filantrópico obispo de Chiapas, el apóstol de la América, Las Casas",<sup>68</sup> and that he believed firmly in "la natural ferocidad del carácter español".<sup>69</sup> And, when Spain seriously took up arms to suppress the revolutionary movements, Bolívar wrote that

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*Historia de las Indias* finally appear in print, more than three centuries after the death of Las Casas. Once printed, the controversy over its merits became a general one which has lasted until today and the smoke that now hangs over the battlefield is murkier than ever.

<sup>66</sup> Padre B. Martínez, "Injustificadas censuras. España en la Conquista de América" (*España y América*, XXVI. (1910), 337).

<sup>67</sup> One of the few references known to me of this interesting aspect of the revolutionary struggle appears in an article by P. Fr. Guillermo Vázquez Núñez, in which he states "precisamente la crueldad . . . con los indios, voceada desde aquí en las proclamas de Quintana, fué uno de los pretextos invocados para la independencia" ("La conquista de los indios americanos por los primeros Misioneros", in *Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum*, I. (1930), 195). A general article which contains some interesting reflections on the subject is by Rodolfo Barón Castro, "Españolismo y antiespañolismo en la América hispana" (*Tierra Firme*, I. (Madrid, 1935), 41-54).

<sup>68</sup> *Cartas del Libertador*, Vicente Lecuna, ed., I. (Caracas, 1929), 173, 182.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 177.



siendo su único objeto y sus solos esfuerzos la destrucción de los habitantes de la América del Sur, no están indicando la razón, la justicia y la propia conservación que las represalias son necesarios como medida de justa retaliación?<sup>70</sup>

Bolívar was not alone in his respect for Las Casas. According to one writer, the devotion to Las Casas felt throughout America dates from the revolutionary period and seems to have been so widespread then that at one time it was suggested that the capital of Gran Colombia be named Las Casas.<sup>71</sup> A writer in the pro-revolutionary journal *El Repertorio Americana*, published in London, supported an even more interesting proposal. He wished to see an immense statue of Las Casas erected on the Isthmus of Panama so that it would dominate the two continents and the islands where

that hero of humanity had left so much for the Americans to admire and to emulate. Such a monument would be worthy of Las Casas as well as of the independent nations whose future is dedicated to the observance of the principles which the father of the oppressed taught, defended, and practised.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 178. Bolívar also refers to Las Casas in V. 8. As might be expected, the authority of Las Casas was used to support diverse proposals during the revolutionary period. José Joaquín del Moral, the Mexican canon who was permitted by Napoleon to sit as the representative of New Spain in the cortes of Bayonne (1808), presented a memorial in which he advocated that the American clergy be allowed to send representatives. The clergy, he stated, had been the chief protector of the Indians, and he cited the example of Las Casas's noble endeavors. Napoleon and Murat were not impressed and the proposal was dropped. See Pierre Bonard, *La Constitution de Bayonne* (Paris, 1910), p. 113. Las Casas was known and supported by other Spanish Americans on other questions. Mariano Moreno, for example, in his "Disertación jurídica sobre el servicio personal de los Indios" read before the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence in Buenos Aires in 1802, unreservedly followed Las Casas and declared himself against the enslavement of Indians. See Ricardo Levene, *Ensayo histórico sobre la Revolución de Mayo*, I. (Buenos Aires, 1920), 435-438.

<sup>71</sup> Martínez, "Injustificadas Censuras" (*España y América*, XXVI. (1910), 337).

<sup>72</sup> This suggestion was made in the course of a long review article on the life and writings of Las Casas, II. (1827), 210.



One specific example of the powerful influence of the *Brevisima Relación* may be found in the history of the revolution in Yucatan. There a tall, venerable, bald-headed priest named Vicente María Velázquez,<sup>73</sup> who served a church in San Juan district in Mérida, read one of the recently imported copies of the *Brevisima* "which the friends of reform had devoured to strengthen themselves in their doctrines".<sup>74</sup> Apparently, the priest believed all the tales of cruelties so passionately described by Las Casas and converted his political group, the *Sanjuanistas*, to the program which he embarked upon to bring justice, even though it had been delayed for three centuries, to the miserable natives. As a descendant of those *conquistadores*, he felt that the least he could do would be to restore to the Indians their rights. As he was wont to explain to anyone who cared to listen,

these poor indians form the immense majority of the population, they are descendants of the original owners of this land. Our forefathers usurped all the rights of the indians and enslaved them under the pretext of Christianizing them. Therefore these indians ought to rule in all parts of this country.<sup>75</sup>

Nor was this mere rhetoric, so far as Velázquez was concerned. He proposed to disregard all land titles then in force and to return the land to the Indians. Likewise, the Indians were to choose the form of government they judged best. Whatever wealth had been accumulated by means of the unjust titles to land and property was to be put into a common fund to be distributed among all, whites as well as Indians. If we are to believe the records, the men who supported this Quixotic program in the *Sanjuanista* party were among those whose forefathers had despoiled the Indians of their rights and who presumably would be the first to lose land,

<sup>73</sup> An interesting chapter entitled "Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas en Yucatán" may be found in Pedro de Alba's *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. Padre de los Indios* (México, 1924), pp. 83-114.

<sup>74</sup> Eligio Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán*, III. (Mérida, 1879), 25-26.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 26-27.



property, and political power if the program was ever to be put in force. When Velázquez was not content with spreading his ideas in the club and in the press and brought caciques of Mérida and the surrounding territory to listen to him expound his program in his church at San Juan, some of the members of the *Sanjuanista* club began to cool toward the whole project and were appealed to by Velázquez, who re-read the *Brevísima* to enflame their flagging spirits. Needless to say, Velázquez eventually lost all support, but according to a Yucatecan historian, the *Brevísima* played such an important rôle that it influenced "poderosamente en sucesos atroces que han conmovido hasta sus cimientos el orden social en la península", and so many copies were made of it for propaganda purposes that manuscript copies are to be found in Yucatan to this day.<sup>76</sup>

If one ecclesiastic came to look upon Spanish colonial rule as one monstrous error, another ecclesiastic, the well known bibliographer José Mariano Beristain de Souza, felt otherwise. He was wholeheartedly in favor of the royalist cause and, as he wrote in the dedication of his *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional* in 1816 to Ferdinand VII., he found himself in "an atmosphere corrupted by the pestilential vapors and diabolical miasmas"<sup>77</sup> of the revolution. In a letter to the viceroy dated January 31, 1816, he stated that in his bibliographical work

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 42-43. Las Casas still has admirers in Yucatan, as may be seen from the following dedication by Carlos R. Menéndez in his *Historia del infame y vergonzoso Comercio de Indios a los Esclavistas de Cuba por los Políticos yucatecos, desde 1848 hasta 1861. Justificación de la Revolución indígena de 1847* (Mérida, 1923):

"Dedico este libro a la imaculada memoria del verdaderamente Ilustrísimo Obispo de Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, porque al través de la historia ha sido el más abnegado, sincero y amoroso defensor de los pobres indios; y porque a la sombra de la memoria de varón tan preclaro y venerable, no se puede medrar para obtener empleos ni sinecuras".

<sup>77</sup> *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*. A three-volume first edition appeared in Mexico City, 1816-1821. In his remarks on the writings of Las Casas, Beristain shows that he considers them greatly exaggerated (*ibid.*, I., 1183 edition, 257-261).



is presented to the public not only the literary but also the ecclesiastical and political history of these Spanish dominions, and with irrefutable documents is made manifest the just, noble, and generous system of government which the mother country has practised in America since the conquest; and the book will show that the criticisms made by foreigners are calumnies and that the reasons alleged in our day by the ungrateful inhabitants of this part of the world to uphold their rebellion and independence, are unjust.<sup>78</sup>

Professor Whitaker suggests that one of Barry's motives for publishing the *Noticias Secretas* "may well have been furnished by the publication of Navarrete's *Viajes* . . . which defended the Spanish colonial régime".<sup>79</sup> Such a motive would be difficult to prove—as indeed would any motive of that almost mythical person, Barry—because the first volume of the *Viajes* seems to have been issued in the same year as the *Noticias Secretas*.<sup>80</sup> Of course, Barry may have been aware Navarrete was preparing his work, though he does not mention the *Viajes*. Navarrete, however, knew that the *Noticias Secretas* was being printed and deplored its appearance, for, he stated, such a work "would certainly not honor Spain but would also separate the peoples of Spain and America, and sow discord between them".<sup>81</sup> Navarrete, be it re-

<sup>78</sup> As quoted by José Toribio Medina, *José Mariano Beristain de Sousa. Estudio Bio-Bibliográfico* (Santiago de Chile, 1897), XXXV. Medina also gives a useful description of Beristain's royalist activities in Mexico in the period 1811-1816, pp. XXI-XXXV.

<sup>79</sup> This REVIEW, XV. 172, note 40.

<sup>80</sup> The title page of Vol. I and all the bibliographers list it as having been published in 1825, but the dedication bears the date January 12, 1826.

<sup>81</sup> *Viajes*, I. (Madrid, 1825?), LVI. Navarrete stated, "Actualmente se está imprimiendo en Londres un informe que con el título de *Noticias Secretas* dieron los sabios D. Jorge Juan y D. Antonio de Ulloa, por encargo del gobierno de España, sobre el estado militar y político de los reinos del Perú, y costas de Chile y Nueva Granada. Su editor dice en el prospecto, que después de haber visitado en los años 1820, 1821 y 1822 las provincias de Buenos Aires, reinos del Perú y Chile, vino á España, y durante su residencia en Madrid supo la existencia de este informe secreto, y habiéndolo procurado obtuvo el libro con no poca dificultad. Así van extrayéndose de España, nuestros papeles más reservados, nuestros libros raros; y no ciertamente para honrar á la nación, sino para dividir á sus individuos de ambos mundos y sembrar entre ellos la discordia" (pp. LVI-LVII, note 2). The italics are by Navarrete.



called, was a member of the committee which had recommended to the Spanish Royal Academy of History in 1821 that Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias* should not be published. Did the widespread publication of the *Brevísima Relación* and intimate contact with the 658 folios of the first volume of the *Historia de las Indias* manuscript provoke Navarrete to bring out his *Viajes*? A desire to bind up the wounds caused by the revolutionary wars in America by presenting a truthful history of the conquest was certainly one of Navarrete's important objectives. At least such would seem to be a reasonable interpretation of Navarrete's statements in the long introduction<sup>82</sup> to the *Viajes*, for he devotes much space to a critical analysis of the works of Las Casas,<sup>83</sup> and excoriates those writers and philosophers who are always

\* *Ibid.*, I. LXX, LXXXII-LXXXIII, CVI-CVII, CVIII. Navarrete hoped that by the publication of the documents "así se conocerá la genuina historia del Nuevo-Mundo: aparecerá la verdad en todo su esplendor, y se disiparán las sombras del error, de los intereses, de las pasiones y de una falaz política, que aparentando en una parte principios de concordia y legitimidad, atropella en otra estos derechos sagrados, estas altas consideraciones de paz, de union y de fraternidad que deberían estrechar á los habitantes de todo el universo. Los indios, estos individuos originarios del Nuevo-Mundo, recordarán con gratitud, en medio de las sangrientas escenas que los rodean, la solicitud, el esmero y la diligencia con que los monarcas castellanos han atendido á su conveniencia y felicidad. Verán que la Reina-Católica Doña Isabel, mirándolos como benigna madre, no solo les dió eminentes y repetidas pruebas de su amor y consideración mientras vivía, sino que poco antes de morir encargaba al rey su esposo, y á los príncipes sus hijos, que no consientan (son sus palabras) ni den lugar que los indios vecinos y moradores de las dichas islas y Tierra-firme, ganadas é por ganar, reciban agravio alguno en sus personas y bienes: mas manden que sean bien y justamente tratados. Se convencerán documentalmente de que lo mismo hicieron sus sucesores Carlos V, Felipe II y Felipe III, de cuyas benéficas y humanas providencias hace mención el doctor D. Juan de Solórzano en su *Política Indiana*" (OVIII). The italics are by Navarrete.

\* *Ibid.*, I. LXXXII. Navarrete produced, on the whole, a remarkably objective study of Las Casas's works. He did, however, bring up the old accusation, popularized by Herrera and Robertson, that Las Casas, though he was zealous in defending the Indians, was responsible for the introduction of Negro slavery to the new world. "¡ Admirable contradicción del espíritu humano!" he exclaimed (I. LXXXVIII). This charge was so widely known that the idea may even be found imbedded in Emily Taylor's *The Vision of Las Casas, and Other Poems* (London, 1825). As early as 1800, Las Casas had been warmly defended in



sembrando odios y discordias entre hermanos, á quienes siempre deberían unir la uniformidad de origen, de religión, de costumbres, de idioma, de leyes y de intereses recíprocos. Se intenta no obstante alucinarlos y dividirlos; y para manifestar los ardides, falsedades y malignas intenciones de estos apóstoles de la discordia, procuraremos desvanecer sus argumentos con las mismas autoridades que ellos veneran, y con el juicio y crítica más imparcial.<sup>84</sup>

Whether Navarrete stimulated Barry to publish, or vice versa, until some real evidence is discovered bearing on the issue turns up, the historian attempting to explain Barry's motive will languish in the uncertain realm of speculation.<sup>85</sup> That Professor Whitaker did not intend his suggestion to be anything more than a speculation may be seen in his conclusion that

whether Barry was moved by a desire to serve the cause of truth or whether he merely wished to vent his spleen against the Spanish Americans . . . or whether he had some other motive, we can not say.<sup>86</sup>

In any case, the ground had been prepared for some time in England for the publication of such a work.<sup>87</sup> William Walton

France against those who flaunted this accusation to discredit his name. Citizen Gregoire composed an enthusiastic apologia and read it before the National Institute in Paris on "Le 22 floréal d'an 8" (Llorente, *Obras de Las Casas*, II. 329-369). Dr. Servando Mier of Mexico supported Citizen Gregoire (*ibid.*, II. 403-437), and when Dr. Gregorio de Funes of Córdoba (Tucumán) continued the battle against Las Casas in 1819 (*ibid.*, II. 365-403), Juan Antonio Llorente took up the cudgels for Las Casas in 1822 and produced a ninety-page tract (*ibid.*, II. 438-528). As soon as Navarrete made the charge again, in 1826, the editor of *El Repertorio Americano* (II. (1827), 182) rose to defend Las Casas once more. The battle surged across the Atlantic to the United States and in 1818 Gulian C. Verplanck delivered a discourse before the New York Historical Society upholding Citizen Gregoire's view (*New York Historical Society Anniversary Discourses*, 1818, pp. 5 ff.). In 1820, Henry Wheaton replied with a learned counter-discourse reaffirming the responsibility of Las Casas for recommending Negro slavery (*North American Review*, new series, IV. (Boston, 1821), 154-168).

<sup>84</sup> *Viajes*, I. LXXXII.

<sup>85</sup> Was the publication in London in 1826 by José Joaquín de Mora of Francisco Saverio Clavigero's defense of the Spanish colonial régime against Raynal (*Historia antigua de México*) the spur that pricked Barry into publication?

<sup>86</sup> In his article, p. 172, footnote 40.

<sup>87</sup> A number of journals sprang up in London to support the revolutionary cause, according to the editor of *El Repertorio Americano*, I. 1.



as early as 1814 in his *Exposé on the Dissentions of Spanish America* charged that Spain had deliberately suppressed the truth of the conquest and had therefore prohibited the works of Las Casas and had permitted only

epic poems and romances in praise of the first conquerors, like the history of Solís,<sup>88</sup> . . . in which the ignorance and vices of the defenceless natives were alleged as a plea for the unheard of butcheries.<sup>89</sup>

Walton knew<sup>90</sup> of the edition of the *Brevisima Relación* which had recently appeared (London, 1812), and could not

refrain from announcing that shortly will be published here an account of the revolution of Inca Tupac-Amaru in Peru from authentic documents found in the public houses of Buenos Aires and upper Peru since the changes of government. It is high time that the cruelties committed by the Spaniards on the Indians of Peru about the year 1780, and which have purposely been kept so secret, should be laid before the world, in an authentic shape. At sight of the mass of information that will henceforward be laid before the public, it will be seen whether the most callous Briton could put his hand on his heart and say, Spanish America required not a radical reform.<sup>91</sup>

Not only was there a market in England for an exposé of the Spanish colonial régime but Ulloa's name carried weight in England. Dionisio Terrasa y Rejón, the author of a pro-revolutionary tract that appeared in London in 1819, complained that the anti-revolutionary party seemed to consider Ulloa an oracle and quoted his travel books in an attempt to support its position.<sup>92</sup> A secret report, therefore, from

<sup>88</sup> Antonio Solís y Rivadeneyra, *Historia de la Conquista de México*. Twelve editions appeared in Spain in the eighteenth century. Editions also came out in Brussels, The Hague, Paris, and London (1724 and 1809).

<sup>89</sup> Walton, *Exposé* (London, 1814), p. 51.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18. Even before the 1812 edition Englishmen interested in the Spanish American revolutions quoted Las Casas. See William Burke, *South American Independence: or, the Emancipation of South America, the Glory and Interest of England* (London, 1807), p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>92</sup> *Carta al Observador en Londres, ó Impugnacion a las falsedades que se divulgan contra América*, pp. 72-84. The author also quoted Las Casas, pp. 34-35.



Ulloa's pen was bound to create a real stir in London. The determination of Barry's motive in publishing the report is an important question—which may be reserved for the ingenuity of the future editor—but, whatever the motive, it should be realized that the report was only one of a number of tracts which appeared during the period of the Spanish American revolutions to denounce or to defend Spain in America.<sup>93</sup>

And in conclusion, may we not reasonably expect that the editor of the new edition will set at rest all doubts of the truthfulness of the picture of Peruvian life in the *Noticias Secretas*, just as Whitaker has set at rest some of the doubts of Professors Ballesteros and Cervera concerning the authenticity of the work.<sup>94</sup> In this connection, it may be pertinent to recall

<sup>93</sup> Of course not all the Spanish works appearing in England during the revolutionary period were of a propagandistic nature. Besides the works of Humboldt there was printed a monthly journal (1824-1827) entitled *Ocios de Españoles emigrados* by which emigré writers such as Angel de Saavedra, José de Espronceda, Antonio Alcalá Galiano, and José Joaquín de Mora attempted to spread a knowledge of Spanish culture in England. For much useful information on Spanish literary publications in London in the period 1814-1834, see E. Allison Peers, "The Literary Activities of the Spanish 'Emigrados' in England", in *The Modern Language Review*, XIX. (1924), 315-324, 445-458. In this connection, see also the tract in the British Museum (Press Mark 9770.aaa.4 (5)) entitled *A los Españoles ociosos en Londres, un Mexicano ocupado, contestando al número 20 de su periódico* (Mexico, 1826). Other Spanish periodicals published in London were the pro-Spanish *El Español*, edited by Joseph Blanco White (8 vols., 1810-1814), and *El Repertorio Americano* (4 vols., 1826-1827), which was dedicated to the interests of the new nations in America. One of the most interesting pro-revolutionary books published in London was the two-volume *Historia de la Revolución de Nueva España* (1813) of the Dominican Servando Teresa de Mier y Noriega. Mier made much use of Las Casas in this work as he did in the *Segunda Carta de un Americano al Español* (London, 1812), in which he opposed some statements published in White's *El Español*. For biographical and other useful information on the interesting and learned Dr. Mier, see Rafael Garza Cantú, *Algunos apuntes acerca de las letras y la cultura de Nuevo León en la centuria de 1810 á 1910* (Monterrey, 1910), pp. 11-104. The *Noticias Secretas* was not the last book on the subject. In 1829, there appeared, for example, in Mexico, the work of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxuchitl entitled *Horribles Crueldades de los Conquistadores de México y de los Indios que los auxiliaron para subyugarlo a la Corona de Castilla*.

<sup>94</sup> Whitaker's minute comparison (in his article, pp. 173-174) of the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional with the printed *Noticias Secretas* shows that no sub-



that some Spaniards once claimed that Las Casas was not the author of the *Brevisima Relación*—that it had been composed by a Frenchman, translated into Spanish, and printed for the first time in Lyons with a false title to make it appear that it had been printed in Seville.<sup>95</sup> As late as 1910, one Spaniard

stantial differences exist between them. Moreover, Whitaker's experience with Ulloa material leads him to state (in footnote 43 of his article) that "the manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional resembles, in both paper and handwriting, certain letters unquestionably written by Ulloa", and he apparently feels (see pp. 173-174 of his article) "that the authenticity (of the manuscript) is not open to serious question", a judgment in which the present writer concurs. Fortunately for students of this problem, there exists in the Palacio Nacional (Madrid) in two hundred folio pages a "Relación de Gobierno del capitán . . . D. Antonio de Ulloa en la villa de Guancavelica . . . y de la Provincia de los Angaraes desde el día 4 de noviembre de 1758 que tomé el mando hasta 10 de febrero de 1763" which bears Ulloa's signature and is in his hand (Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos de América* (Madrid, 1935), No. 524). This manuscript should also prove helpful in determining the truthfulness of the picture presented in the *Noticias Secretas*. Ulloa states in the letter discovered by Whitaker (see pp. 174-175 of his article) that the report written in the year 1748 or 1749 is "only a very faint sketch of what actually happens". It is possible, then, that this unpublished report on Ulloa's actual experience in Huancavelica (for a description of this, see Whitaker's article, pp. 177-183), composed, as it was, when he was forty-seven years of age, may prove to be another *Noticias Secretas* on a smaller scale.

<sup>95</sup> Alonzo de Zamora, *Historia de la Provincia de San Antonio del Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, Fr. Andrés Mesanza, ed. (Caracas, 1930), pp. 118-119. The editor, though otherwise critical, does not deny the above statements. Juan Meléndez in *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias*, I. (Rome, 1681), p. 510, had this to say: "No es todo de aquel venerable Obispo, sino añadido y compuesto por los enemigos de España, impreso en León de Francia, mintiendo en él que fué estampado en Sevilla, lo cual alcancé a saber de muy cierto original". And in Vol. II, p. 172, he wrote: "Aquí conocerán que los Españoles primeros, que rindieron todo aquel nuevo mundo al suave dominio de su Príncipe, no le despoblaron con crueldades y tiranías pues le ennoblecieron con tanta Religión, piedad y justicia. Sabrán también, si lo ignoran, que el Memorial, que se intitula del obispo de Chiapa Don F. B. de Las Casas, es quimera, que inventaron los enemigos de la Monarquía española, añadiendo al Memorial piadoso y discreto del santo Obispo, sus ordinarios engaños, los que aborrecen el crédito que la fé tiene en los Reynos de España, para desacreditar sus empresas, envidiosos de su fortuna y de su valor. De este Memorial lo más es falso, y no puedo dejar de escandecerme de la ignorancia ciega de algunos Escritores de España, que solo porque vieron, que decía impreso en Sevilla, le citaron, como si las obras de Lutero y Calvino, que se imprimen en Ginebra, y Amsterdam, no pudieran los Ereges publicarlos



believed that "hay razones poderosas para presumir que no fuera el Ilmo. Las Casas el escritor de la obra que se atribuye",<sup>96</sup> and another Spaniard declared, "Ningún misio-nero pudo acumular sobre los españoles tantos desatinos como los que les imputa el arracional libro *que lleva el nombre del P. Las Casas*".<sup>97</sup> No reputable historian today, however, doubts that Las Casas wrote the *Brevísima Relación*, though few believe that it gives an accurate account of the early years of the conquest.

Whether the *Noticias Secretas* will be accepted as an essentially faithful and accurate report on conditions in the Spanish dominions toward the close of the colonial period, remains to be seen. But it should not be forgotten that Las Casas and Ulloa were not the only Spaniards to describe frankly and fearlessly the shortcomings of their countrymen.<sup>98</sup> Do we not have the old refrain:

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como impresas en Madrid. El dicho testimonio corre traducido en todas las lenguas, siendo la Española la primera en que se tradujo su original Francés (como tengo averiguado de Autores de grande crédito) y no me admiro, porque la mentira (aunque las sabe todas) para acreditarse, no pudo escoger mejor lengua que la Castellana, donde la verdad pronunciada y escrita logra su más pura Fé". One of the most original of explanations concerning the *Brevísima* has come from the pen of a Frenchman, Auguste Genin, who believes that Las Casas wrote the work but that he was not wholly a Spaniard for he states: "Las Casas n'étant pas complètement espagnol ce qui à mon avis, explique—en dehors de sa bonté naturelle et de sa charité évangélique—l'âpreté et parfois l'injustice de ses accusations contre les Conquistadors et leurs descendants immédiats. Il est certain que s'il n'avait eu dans les veines que du sang castillan plus ou moins mêlé de sang arabe ou, tout au moins, s'il n'avait subi d'autre influence que la sarrazine et l'atavisme ibère, il aurait compris et excusé chez certains de ses compatriotes bien des choses qu'il censure avec amertume. C'est ce qui lui reste de sang français et le vieux levain des rivalités entre la France et l'Espagne, qui l'excitent sans qu'il se l'avoue, sans qu'il s'en doute même". See *Les Français au Mexique* (Paris, 1933), p. 80.

<sup>96</sup> Martínez, "Injustificadas Censuras" (*España y América*, XXVI. (1910), 337).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI. 377. The italics are mine.

<sup>98</sup> The writer hopes to present more evidence on this point in a paper to be entitled "Free Speech in Sixteenth-Century Spain and America" which is now in preparation.



Si habla mal de Alemania, es Francés,  
Si habla bien de Inglaterra, es Inglés,  
Si habla mal de España, es Español.

And did not Seneca long ago remark that one of the virtues of the Spaniard was "a rude frankness in speaking of his country?"<sup>99</sup>

LEWIS HANKE.

Harvard University.

<sup>99</sup> Quoted by Luis B. Terán, *El Nacimiento de la América Española* (Tucumán, 1927), p. 24. That Spaniards today are moving away from their earlier revisionist attitudes may be seen from the statement by Ventura García Calderón in the first issue of that interesting review *Tierra Firme*, founded last year in Madrid:

"Seamos justos; en España comenzó el afán denigrando mucho antes de ser leyenda negra en plumas de escritores extranjeros". See "Como era aquel Español", in *Tierra Firme*, I. (Madrid, 1935), 42. It should also be recorded that one of the conclusions approved at the Congress of Americanists last year in Seville was the following, proposed by the Cuban scholar, José María Chacón y Calvo: "Reconocer que los representantes del criticismo español en la colonización de América—Montesinos, Vitoria, Las Casas, Soto—son figuras y representantes puros y auténticos de la conciencia española en el Nuevo Mundo".



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Bibliografía Puertorriqueña.* By JOSÉ GÉIGEL ZENÓN and ABELARDO MORALES FERRER. Compiled in 1892-1894; first published by FERNANDO J. GÉIGEL Y SABAT. (Barcelona: Editorial Araluce, 1934. Pp. 462. 32 illustrations.)

Not until 1932 was there in print anything worth calling a bibliography of Puerto Rico. In that year Professor Antonio S. Pedreira of the University of Puerto Rico published in Madrid a very thorough work, *Bibliografía Puertorriqueña, 1493-1930*. The first Puerto Rican bibliography was compiled by Manuel María Sama in 1887. In it were listed the contents of his private library consisting of 289 works. In 1901, A. P. C. Griffin published *A List of Books on Porto Rico* which included what there was at that time in the Library of Congress at Washington. Dr. Cayetano Coll y Toste started a bibliography on a more ambitious plan in the San Juan daily *La Democracia* and in the weekly *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* but failed to go beyond the letter "A".

Beginning in 1892, the distinguished Puerto Rican intellectual José Géigel y Zenón, for many years librarian of the Ateneo Puertorriqueño, began the preparation of a critical and descriptive bibliography which was destined to receive the gold medal at the regional exposition held in the island to celebrate the fourth centenary of its discovery. However, Géigel died before his task was finished, and his widow asked Dr. Abelardo Morales Ferrer, close friend of her husband and a distinguished writer, to carry on and complete the work. While busily engaged in his task, Dr. Morales Ferrer was taken ill and left for Switzerland where death instead of health awaited him.

All efforts to recover the manuscript were in vain. No one seemed to know its whereabouts. Years passed until, in 1930, Sr. Fernando J. Géigel, the author's third son, returned to San Juan to receive with astonishment the news that the long-lost manuscript had been found in the Ateneo when this institution was being moved to its beautiful new quarters. Sr. Géigel at once undertook its publication.

In contrast with Dr. Pedreira's work, the present one, although not



as thorough or as inclusive, is descriptive and critical and therefore a good guide to the researcher who may be interested in the contents of the works included. There are listed in all 498 works, each with appropriate comments. The book is divided into three sections: 1) books written and printed in Puerto Rico since 1807 when the first printing press was introduced into the island; 2) books written in the island or outside by Puerto Ricans and printed in the mother country or other countries; 3) books written by authors born outside of Puerto Rico but dealing with the island. There are also alphabetical indices of authors and titles, and a chronological arrangement of works by year of publication. Finally there is a subject index.

Students will welcome Sr. Géigel's decision to publish this work which will undoubtedly be of considerable use to all those interested in Puerto Rico or in American bibliography.

R. O. RIVERA.

Duke University,  
Durham, N. C.

*Bartholomeu de Guzmão e a sua prioridade aerostatica.* By AFFONSO DE E. TAUNAY. (São Paulo: Escolas Profissões Salesianas, 1935.) Pp. xii, 292.

The erudite director of the Museu Paulista, a member of the Brazilian Academy and foremost authority on the history of São Paulo, has added to his long list of historical publications an excellent monograph on Bartholomeu de Guzmão, the famous eighteenth-century Brazilian scholar and inventor and brother of the statesman, Alexander de Guzmão. Bartholomeu was born in Santos in 1665. He graduated from the University of Coimbra, entered the Jesuit order, and quickly gained fame as a mathematician. In 1709, he launched a flying machine in the form of a bird from the tower of the Casa de Indias of Lisbon. Our information on this period of Guzmão's life is, uncertain and contradictory, owing in part to the ridicule heaped upon the inventor. But thanks to the patient investigations of Dr. Taunay, both in manuscript and printed material, much of the obscurity is cleared up. Guzmão's claim to priority in aeronautics is now beyond all question. He anticipated, for instance, by seventy-three years, the experiments of the Mongolfier brothers in France. Guzmão's views brought him into conflict with the inquisition and he was imprisoned



for a number of years. He finally fled to Spain where he died in 1724. Dr. Taunay has rescued from partial oblivion one of the notable figures produced by Colonial Brazil.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

*Estudos Afro-Brasileiros (Trabalhos apresentados ao 1º Congresso Afro-Brasileiro no Recife em 1934).* By GILBERTO FREYRE (Ed.). Preface by [E.] ROQUETTE-PINTO. 1º Volume (Rio de Janeiro, Ariel, Editora Ltda., 1935). Pp. iv, 275.

On the initiative of the young Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist, Gilberto Freyre, was organized, in 1934, the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. Sr. Freyre was, in many respects, the logical person to launch this initiative. He is abreast of the most important literature on anthropology published in Europe and the United States; and his exceptional grasp of the history of the Negro problem was evidenced by his *Casa Grande e Senzala* (first ed., 1934) which placed him at the forefront of Brazilian anthropologists and won for him a chair in the recently-founded municipal University of Rio de Janeiro.

The congress which met in Recife two years ago was in many respects a notable event. The twenty-three papers published in this first volume, though unequal in value, add considerably to our knowledge of the Negro problem in Brazil, both before and after abolition. Several may be singled out for special mention. Two young scholars from northern Brazil, Srs. Alfredo Brandão and Adhemar Vidal, contributed articles on the history of slavery in their respective provinces of Alagoas and Parahyba. Professor Ulysses Pernambuco, one of the foremost alienists in Brazil, wrote on the mental diseases among the Negroes of Pernambuco. Sr. Edison Carneiro had an arresting study on the present status of the Negro. The celebrated North American anthropologist, Melville J. Herkovits, submitted papers on a subject hitherto largely neglected, namely, a study of the habitat and milieu of the Negro before he was removed from Africa. Another profitable field of research was adumbrated by Sr. Alberto de Faria in his paper on the ravages of tuberculosis among both Whites and Negroes with particular reference to their racial resistance. Finally, we may note a study by Sr. Ruy Coutinho on the effect of diet and nutrition on the stamina of the colored population of Brazil.



One lays down this fascinating volume with the feeling that Sr. Freyre has pointed the way to a definite advance in the investigations of a problem infinitely more complex than earlier students realized. It transcends the bounds of history, and even anthropology. Psychology, sociology, medicine, and a number of other ancillary disciplines must in the future be placed under requisition. Folklore and primitive religion cannot be ignored. Only now are Brazilian scholars beginning to realize what a wealth of material they have at their very door. In many respects the study of the Brazilian Negro is still in its infancy.

The preface of the book is written by Dr. E. Roquette Pinto, in the opinion of many, Brazil's foremost anthropologist.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

*The Movement for the Acquisition of all Mexico, 1846-1848.* By JOHN DOUGLAS PITTS FULLER. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. Pp. 174. \$1.50.)

Dr. Fuller here carefully traces the steady and rapid rise of a superior-nation complex which justified the imperialists of the day in their demand for the annexation of all Mexico. From this standpoint the study simply confirms the frequently repeated experience of many nations, and presents no especially new ideas to students of history—unless the explanation of the sudden debacle of the movement may be so classed.

On reading the volume, however, one feels that the real thesis soon begins to make its appearance, namely, the contention that the southern planter was not the imperialist of the time, but on the contrary, disapproved of expansion into Mexican territory. The reasons advanced to support the thesis are that the planter realized that the new territory would not lend itself to development of the slave system and that such an acquisition would only precipitate a "fierce sectional struggle" over slavery which the south wished to avoid. Many southern leaders are shown to have endorsed these sentiments, and some abolitionists are found to have supported expansion as an advisable part of their program. However, the number of New Englanders converted is acknowledged to have been very small and the cautious reader



is still likely to feel that while these sentiments may have influenced some southern leaders it is hardly logical to conclude that the masses would follow them promptly in an anti-expansion program. This doubt is further emphasized by the fact that the southwest was clamoring for annexation (as Dr. Fuller frankly admits); and no one can deny that that section loved its slavery and also knew the Texas and Mexican conditions better than the old southeast. Also one wonders why, if the old south was materially influenced by these arguments, it was the section to be so cordial to the López expeditions to Cuba and the Walker exploits in Nicaragua that followed promptly in the next decade.

The student of Hispanic American History likewise notes the complete absence of references to works in Spanish. Such mention as is made of affairs and developments in Mexico are through secondary sources in English or through the reports of United States agents in Mexico. Also, one feels that such a movement for expansion as is here outlined must have been a subject of real interest for British, French, and other diplomatic agents in Washington. Yet the author cites none of their reports and sticks to his detailed and quite exhaustive survey of United States newspapers and memoirs for his careful analysis of the growing sentiment that was only forestalled by the unwanted treaty signed by the repudiated diplomatic agent, Nicolas P. Trist.

In a single sentence: Here is a careful survey of public opinion in the United States so far as it applied to one small topic, but the approach and the period covered are so limited that the broader implications of the whole movement seem to be largely lost sight of.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

Columbia, S. C.

*Problems of the New Cuba. Report of the Commission on Cuban Affairs.* By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL and OTHERS. ([New York]: Foreign Policy Association, 1935. Pp. xiii, 523. Map. Index. \$3.00.)

As far back as 1767 Benjamin Franklin showed a keen interest in the future possession of Cuba. Since that time the fate of the island has been growing more and more important to the United States and Cuba has been approached by many different types of citizens of the United States: there have been merchants, sailors, promoters, tech-



nicians, farmers, and preachers as well as, in more recent days, sugar barons, bankers, railroad managers, builders, public utilities men, politicians, and diplomats.

There have been occasional attempts from American scholars who tried to understand Cuba and as a result from these attempts a few books on Cuba have come out. There are Chapman's *A History of the Cuban Republic* severely condemning the sins in Cuban political life but without considering the responsibilities of the United States in these very sins; Jenks's *Our Cuban Colony* with criticism of American imperialistic policies; Wright's *The Cuban Situation and our Treaty Relations*, over-emphasizing the solution of the Cuban crisis through the sugar industry—all of them scholarly books—and in these last years, Beals's *The Crime of Cuba*, written too hurriedly; Guggenheim's *The United States and Cuba*, very poor, indeed, and Strode's *The Pageant of Cuba*, which is only another travel book. Were it not for these occasional books alluded to, it would seem that the intelligentsia of the United States have not thought much about Cuba, its people, and their deep-rooted problems. The majority have apparently clung to the comfortable attitude of contempt that many people of the United States adopt with regard to Hispanic American republics, which are really unknown to them.

It devolved upon the Foreign Policy Association of New York to undertake the task of preparing a book in which scholars and specialists of the United States could present their interpretation of Cuba and its problems after the severe years of Machado's political régime, of heavy economic depression, and of many unforgettable mistakes committed by diplomats of the United States. The Foreign Policy Association formed a commission of eleven specialists, all of them citizens of the United States, who went down to Cuba and spent there some ten weeks of active research and travel, during which they acquired direct information relative to conditions in the island and the social and economic background of Cuban national life. It is fair to say, with regard to Raymond Leslie Buell, Leland Hamilton Jenks, Charles A. Thomson, L. M. Wilson and perhaps one other member of the commission, that their stay in Cuba was a continuance of their work of some years during which they have been writing on Cuba and Hispanic America. The members of the commission were not all, however, of the same political, social, or economic type. The reader of Mr. Zimmerman's reservations, as well as of his chapter, can easily



detect that he is far from thinking as Thomson, Jenks, or the other more liberal members of the commission. The only member who did not fulfil expectations was Dr. Ernest Gruening, who wrote on public utilities without proper research. Dr. Gruening left Cuba for Mexico before the rest of the commissioners, and unlike them, he did not do any field work for he did not leave Havana. Therefore, his chapter is both weak and unfair and presents a very striking paradox. Dr. Gruening, when writing for the *Forum* (March, 1934, pp. 140-144), said that President Mendieta was in power because he was "... the president that an American ambassador wanted, a president who is approved by the bankers, the sugar barons, and the power trust. . .". Now Dr. Gruening, in this book published by the Foreign Policy Association six months later, criticizes (p. 432) President Mendieta for his indecision against striking public utilities workers and brands as arbitrary the measures enacted by former President Grau San Martín against the power trust (p. 441). While Dr. Gruening praises "the directing genius of Mr. Frank Steinhart" (p. 399)—a typical promoter—and says that his work is deserving as "a study in public utilities", he keeps his condemnations for Cuban workers throughout his chapter.

There are many commendable chapters in this report. The study of the background of the Cuban crisis in the chapters entitled "The Revolution" and "Population Elements", is fair and sometimes presents a warm and sympathetic comprehension of the different problems of the island. This the Cuban reader has deeply appreciated, for he is not accustomed to have scholars of the United States acknowledge the many odds against which Cubans have to fight in order to survive. The blunders of diplomatic representatives of the United States have fostered anti-American feeling in Cuba. Consequently, the criticisms of such mistakes and of United States intervention in our affairs have been very well received, not only by radical groups and by the revolutionary party following former President Grau, but even by the ABC. This part of the report constitutes a sort of vindication of the Grau régime. There is no room to doubt, however, that the present Cuban Government, established by United States intervention, does not like this report, although it was prepared in response to an invitation from President Mendieta. Perhaps they expected the report to praise them and condemn the opposition.

Reaction relative to the report is as follows: All political groups



opposing the government hailed it as a fair effort to understand Cuban problems and to offer remedies to them; the government is silent but hostile to the findings; communists do not praise the report but acknowledge it to be a sincere effort by "capitalistic" elements trying to find transitory reforms; non-communist workers like it and the most representative among them, Mr. Antonio Penichet, in *Bohemia* (February 17, 1935, p. 22), has called it a "... serious and honest" report, which merits his sympathy. Penichet does not agree with all its conclusions, but he considers it "... the work of cool, fair, intelligent, and hard working scholars".

The rural press has given a hearty support to the findings, because they are against centralization in favor of Havana, the capital of the island, where most of the national budget is spent. The press in Havana has also praised it, with just two exceptions—one, *Diario de la Marina*, a conservative paper now acting as a sort of governmental mouthpiece; the other, *País*, owned by a millionaire having the monopoly of a public market, whose monopoly the report has criticized.

The present reviewer does not agree with Professor Zimmerman in his conservative points of view regarding standards of living, but his data are bound to be very useful and will inevitably lead to amazing conclusions. Let us take, for instance, that mechanic of a sugar mill (p. 82) with an income of \$261 a year, or that cane cutter (p. 81) with an annual income of \$124. Cubans can use Professor Zimmerman's figures in the future relative to those people of the United States who do not believe us, in order to prove that the sugar industry is not self-supporting, and that it weighs heavily upon the miserable conditions of the people. As to commercial agreements, especially the so called "reciprocity" treaty of August 24, 1934, this reviewer is far from sharing the favorable views expressed (pp. 60-67), as he believes that such a treaty will have ruinous consequences for Cuba.

Only praise can be given to the chapters on Public Health, Education, and Social Welfare.

This report presents the first instance in which the labor question in Cuba has been studied in an unbiased manner by a citizen of the United States willing to present the facts objectively. Mr. Thomson has succeeded in doing this and his criticisms relative to the nationalization of labor are in line with "marxist" objections to it and also



serve as a proof that Grau San Martín did not head a communistic government.

Professor Jenks wrote for this report four valuable chapters on sugar, full of data and arguments as to the present situation and the future of the sugar industry. He still tries to save it through limitations, compacts, and a strong appeal in favor of sugar refined in Cuba, which is cheaper and as good as that refined in the United States. Cuban *colonos* and small sugarmill owners are pleased with Jenks's opinions because he has said a word in their behalf. The present reviewer believes that the sugar industry in Cuba, if limited to raw sugar, is doomed to death and has even now entered into its agony, but Jenks has not given up all hopes.

Of course, Messrs. Graham and Fetter, in discussing the money system and public finances and the debt of Cuba, take a conservative stand, but it could not be otherwise. As a matter of fact, Cuba itself has not yet decided what is to be its national policy on financial matters. Messrs. Graham and Fetter consider Cuban economic life as it is today in a country selling sugar and tobacco and importing everything from the United States. But if, as suggested by the chapters on land colonization, diversification of crops, establishment of homesteads, and rational agricultural methods, Cuba can be made self-supporting, this reviewer cannot see any advantage for Cuba to keep the parity between the Cuban peso and the United States dollar. All evidences demonstrate the necessity for Cuba to have its own banks and to develop an independent economic life, both of which will be impossible under the system devised by Mr. Graham. Mr. Fetter's suggestions seem to be of more useful and immediate application, except that on the Public Works Debt.

The most original part of the report is contained in a very complete plan for rural reconstruction which is not a revolutionary change, but which, if put into execution, would transform the economic life of the Cuban people, especially the *guajiro* (peasant) and the *jornalero* (field laborer). This plan if followed would transform Cuba into a strong, united, and civilized nation, which would be self-supporting and whose progress will not be limited to Havana and a few large cities. There had been much talk about agrarian reform and crop diversification in Cuba, but this book presents the first practical plan for such reform. The Cuban crisis is so deep that the people of the island will bless any person putting such a plan into effect.



In conclusion, it may be truly stated that the first attempt of the American *intelligentsia*, as a body, to approach the Cuban crisis, has been a success and that *Problems of the New Cuba* has been welcomed generally by the people of the island.<sup>1</sup>

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Black Mountain College.

*José Luciano Martínez: Coronel, Abogado, Historiador, Publicista.* By MARIANO CORTÉS ARTEAGA. (Montevideo: Imp. Dornaleche Hnos., 1933. Pp. xii, 346. Index.)

In writing the biography of a friend who is still living it is a difficult matter to avoid flattery and to write dispassionately and with impartiality. Realizing this situation at a time when Colonel Martínez was about to retire from active service in the army of Uruguay, Captain Mariano Cortés Arteaga, the author of this biography of José Luciano Martínez, who had acted as secretary for Colonel Martínez and had received from him the kindest of advice and guidance in his own literary education, decided to make his part of the biography merely a succinct relation of facts in the life of the colonel and to trust to letters of other friends and newspaper reviews to reveal the greatness of his literary reputation and the respect, esteem, and veneration in which the subject of this biography was held by his contemporaries.

Since the larger part of this book consists of such letters, the work of the author has been little more than that of editor; and as he seems to have lacked the firmness to exclude some especially fulsome letter when its inclusion added nothing new to what had already been said, the book is unnecessarily long and repetitious.

Inasmuch as most of the letters reproduced are from friends of Colonel Martínez, thanking him for sending a complimentary copy of one or another of his books, it stands to reason that they are characterized by friendly flattery and praise for the book under consideration. From such letters little of value can be learned, but the inclusion of extracts from reviews in newspapers or periodicals affords some op-

<sup>1</sup> This volume has been translated into Spanish by the above reviewer and published by the Foreign Policy Association under the title *Problemas de la Nueva Cuba* (New York, 1935). It has already gone into its second edition (Havana, Cuba, Cultural, S. A., 1935).—J. A. R.



portunity of judging what each book is about and what are its virtues and defects.

Colonel Martínez was a prolific writer on the military history of his country. Among such works, mentioned glowingly and at considerable length in this biography, are, in order of their publication, the following: *Vida Militar del General Simón Martínez*; *Vida Militar de los Generales Enrique y Gregorio Castro*; *Cuestas y su Administración*; *Hombres y Batallas*; and *Política y Milicia*. *Procedimientos Militares*, a text-book on military law, was developed from the course on that subject which Colonel Martínez taught at the Naval School. *Misioneros*, an historical play, he wrote in collaboration with the dramatist, Miguel H. Escuder. He also collaborated in the coöperative works, *Diccionario Biográfico contemporáneo Sudamericano*, and the *Album Biográfico Ilustrado de la República Oriental del Uruguay*, both published at Buenos Aires, the former in 1898, the latter in 1903. Numerous biographical and historical articles from his pen have appeared in *Rojo y Blanco*, *La Revista Nacional de Literatura y Ciencia Sociales*, and other reviews and newspapers. Other works of his in course of preparation, but not yet published are to be an *Historia Militar y Política de la República Oriental del Uruguay*, and another series of historical studies and anecdotes to be called *Laderas y Cumbres*.

Historian, lawyer, orator, man of letters, he was all his life a student and in 1902 received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Montevideo. After that the government put his legal knowledge to practical use by detailing him on military boards and commissions, as judge advocate, as secretary of the military court of appeals, and as professor of military law at the Naval School.

His military career lasted forty years, beginning at an early age when in 1887 he was appointed captain of a company in the cadet battalion of the University of Montevideo. In the regular army, he served in the artillery and was promoted steadily from ensign to colonel, at which latter rank he was retired from active service in 1929. His service was distinguished by intelligence, hard study, devotion to duty, and loyalty to the government.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Washington, Connecticut.



*With Pershing in Mexico.* By COLONEL H. A. TOULMIN, JR., D.S.M. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Military Service Publishing Company, 1935. Pp. xix, 142, [2]. \$2.00.)

According to the author's Introduction, "the purpose of this book is to popularize the principal guardian of our constitutional government—the Regular Army". It should be noted that Colonel Toulmin is not an officer of the Regular Army, although he has seen much service with it. Besides effectively accomplishing this purpose by describing "the courage, endurance, and self-restraint under great trials of the distinguished body of men and officers who followed Pershing into Mexico in 1916", as well as a secondary purpose of showing that, in spite of mechanization of modern cavalry, the horse and mule still have an important function to perform in war, Colonel Toulmin has written a vivid story of heroism and perseverance under difficulties, which cannot fail to interest the general reader. His descriptions of the terrain and scenery of that part of northern Mexico which was traversed in this campaign are glowing; his explanation of the political situation is lucid; his study of the operations of the various detachments under the general command moves rapidly; and the story as a whole is well coördinated.

Perhaps these very qualities, appreciated by the average reader, and the scarcity of tiresome military details, will render this book less valuable to the military student. The student of Hispanic American History, aware that President Wilson foresaw the possibility that the United States might become involved in the war in Europe, will appreciate the president's reasons, as explained by Colonel Toulmin, for allowing the issuance of orders hampering General Pershing's freedom of action in the pursuit of Villa, and will be glad that the author has made a remarkably fair statement of the Mexican point of view.

This book has no index but contains a short two-page bibliography, arranged with no apparent system. The end-paper map, as is generally the case with such maps, is disappointingly small in scale, and fails to name many places important enough to be mentioned more than once in the text. The illustrations consist of a full-length photograph of General Pershing and numerous small line drawings depicting persons and incidents in the campaign.

A foreword by Major General Benson W. Hough, O.N.G., points out the purpose and value of the book, laying stress on the solution of



the question "how far and to what extent shall the armed forces and armament be adjusted and adapted to modern developments in mechanics and engineering?" In the opinion of the reviewer this question is not definitively answered, nor is the book in other respects a profound technical study. The reviewer agrees rather with the author that he has accomplished his purpose as set forth in the first paragraph of this review, and believes that the value of the book largely rests on the fact that the rapidity and readability of its style will no doubt tend to suit the popular taste.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Washington, Connecticut.

*El Velero Matinal*. By FERNANDO DIEZ DE MEDINA. (La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial América, 1935.)

It is quite unnecessary to preface a short review of a work by Fernando Diez de Medina with an introductory comment. A distinguished young Bolivian intellectual, whose contribution in the field of poetry won for him wide and deserved recognition, he gives us in *El Velero Matinal* ten essays on a variety of topics, most of them related in some form or other to the Americanist theme.

There is first of all an excellent sketch of the intellectual qualities of Franz Tamayo, one of the most fecund and absorbing of Bolivia's cultural leaders. Diez de Medina distinguishes sharply between Tamayo as a man of action and as a thinker. The sub-title of the short essay is *El artista*, that is, Tamayo as purely intellectual value.

In spite of wide and cosmopolitan influences, and complete absorption of the Hellenic-Latin tradition of western Europe, Tamayo remains thoroughly and basically Bolivian. There seems to be much of the autochthonous in him, a great deal that is the product of the soil which has produced him. The most striking characteristic of all the essays of Diez de Medina is the marked tendency toward the creation of a Bolivianist conscience, of a national artistic and historical sentiment. After all, no nation of America except possibly Peru or Mexico, possesses to a higher degree the raw materials of fruitful and abundant culture. The fusion of the national elements is a task of untold proportions, but it is accelerated by the serene contribution of Franz Tamayo.

For the reader concerned with things historical, perhaps no essay



is so striking as that dealing with General Narciso Campero. Campero is certainly a Bolivian figure well worth rescuing from oblivion, especially as he lived in an epoch when his strength of character and remarkable sense of civism was in contrast to the less admirable rule of a Daza or a Melgarejo. His career is literally the history of Bolivia during the nineteenth century, for his birth occurred in 1813, and he died an octogenarian. In all the major events of Bolivian history during the past century he was an active participant—in the civil war of Belzu and Melgarejo, and later in the military service of the nation under Daza. His distinguished military talent led to his rise to the height of power during the disastrous war against Chile. He was the natural choice for president during and after the chaos. Diez de Medina calls attention to the fact that he was a rare and notable exception, an executive who delivered the reins of government to his legitimate successor, free from personal ambition or ulterior aspirations. His program of political reform is no less interesting. Perhaps, because of his rigid military training, he possessed a degree of contempt for the politician, especially the professional office seeker and office creator. Placing internal, moral reform before material, he urged a purification of the national political life as more vital than the introduction of roads, colonization projects, or public works. His *Proyecto de Revolución* is a clear denunciation of demagoguism and shoddiness in public and professional life. Respectful of public will and of public opinion, Campero gave the edifying example of allowing the free expression of the public view, with no censorship or restriction. The expression opposition was termed by him *Luz de los pueblos y de los gobiernos*. This history of duty done and responsibility fulfilled is called simply and eloquently by the author, *Campero o el deber*. This essay is excellent, critical, and thought provoking.

There are two contributions of a somewhat similar nature, one a study of Jaime Freyre, a man of letters and the second more general, and more panoramic, called the *Sangre interior de Nuestra América*—panoramic because of the extraordinary profusion of names and persons cited and commented on. We might entitle it more correctly, an effort at the interpretation of the meaning of America. The opening paragraphs make reference with propriety to Keyserling, Waldo Frank, Siegfried, Paul Morand, and others. There is particular reference to those younger writers who are preoccupied with the problem of America and the consciousness that the American continent is en-



volving. The term used by Diez de Medina, *nuestra psique* expresses it best perhaps. Such men of letters as Luis Alberto Sánchez in Perú, and Augusto Guzmán in Bolivia reflect this eternal preoccupation for the definition of the lasting, solid values of this western hemisphere.

A short essay on Bolivian painting concludes the relatively small volume, with emphasis on the artistic work of Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas. Mention should certainly be made of the collection of eight reproductions of the art of Guzmán de Rojas which occupies a sort of appendix or finale of the book. This is by no means the least meritorious portion of a really excellent little group of essays.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

*Histoire de l'Amérique Espagnole.* By HUGO D. BARBAGELATA.  
(Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1936. Pp. 318.)

Hugo D. Barbagelata is eminently well known among those who concern themselves with the affairs of Hispanic America. An Uruguayan historian and critic, he has lived for so many years in France as to become identified completely with the intellectual life of that nation. His rôle has been predominantly that of liaison officer between France and Spanish America, a place somewhat similar to that occupied by the García Calderón.

This is not the first contribution in French from the pen of Hugo Barbagelata. Some years ago, he published a study of the influence of French ideas on the revolutionary movements in America. He later translated for the French reader selections from his great fellow countryman, José Enrique Rodó. This was followed in due time by his *Napoléon et l'Amérique espagnole*. The present work is a brief, succinct analysis of the development of Spanish America. It might more appropriately be designated an *aperçu*, a general survey of the most salient historical features in the development of Spanish America. The work makes no pretense at original scholarship nor are there footnotes and source references. As a piece of synthesis the volume can be recommended as extremely suggestive and is perhaps the best thing of its kind in French. This volume might easily serve as an introduction to the impressionistic study of Hispanic America contained in the *Amérique Latine* of André Siegfried. For the French reader,



with only the most rudimentary notion of what has been the evolution of Hispanic America, this little volume will serve an admirable purpose. It presupposes nothing and undertakes to give only those facts and interpretations necessary to carry through the broad story of how the Spanish-speaking nations of the new world have attained their present condition. The interpretative element is quite cursory. In a few sentences Sr. Barbagelata summarizes contemporary conditions and present tendencies. The last general division of the book treats of contemporary Hispanic America although there is little space for anything more than a word concerning the revolutionary movements and economic crises that have shaken those countries since 1930.

Some of the most characteristic features of Hispanic American governments are emphasized as well as those social questions which constitute the essence of the life of many of the republics. The author devotes a page or two to "Indianism" with a few observations of the place of Mexico in this work and of such thinkers as Moisés Saenz, Alcides Argüedas, Mariátegui, and others. Without delving into the matter with any profundity, the impression is left of the extraordinary importance of the problem of the incorporation of the Indian element into the political and social scheme of things in the various republics. Nationalism, in economics and in letters, receive some slight attention, and an appreciation is suggested of the rôle of the Hispanic nations in the Geneva league.

It is hard to criticize the work. For those ignorant of the essentials of Hispanic American history it will prove worthwhile. It is as Sr. Barbagelata writes, "utile aux personnes curieuses de l'origine et du développement des nouvelles démocraties hispano-Américaines". It is the text-book type and does not supersede in any sense the older work of Francisco García Calderón. As a handy manual it will be welcome, particularly in view of the dearth of convenient texts in the field in French. The bibliography is very sketchy. Some mention is made of a few of the periodical publications and each chapter or general division carries with it a few bibliographical references. The impression is that the organization of the bibliography has been somewhat uncritical. This *Histoire de l'Amérique espagnole* is the third volume in the series known as *Choses d'Amérique*, published under the direction of the Institut des Etudes Américaines at Paris. The preceding volumes were the *Amérique Latine* of André Siegfried and the



*Initiation à la Vie en Argentine*, a broad study of the Argentine Republic, done in collaboration.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

*Souvenirs d'Épopée*. By CASTERA DÉLIENNE. (Port-au-Prince: Haiti, Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1935. Pp. 102.)

*La Politique Extérieure de Toussaint Louverture*. By MARCEAU LE-CORPUS. (Port-au-Prince: Chéraquit, Imprimeur-Editeur, 1935. Pp. 107.)

These two brief studies have appeared in Port-au-Prince during the past months and contribute interestingly to the knowledge of two very different epochs of the history of the Haitian people. The little work of M. Délienne, called *Souvenirs d'Épopée*, deals with personal and historical recollections of the uprising of 1902 in Haiti which led to the revolution and civil war of that year. M. Délienne contributes an extremely valuable study of this obscure series of events that led to the revolt on behalf of that remarkable Haitian, Anténor Firmin. The situation in 1902 was confused. The overthrow of the government of Antoine Simon Sam led to the establishment of a provisional organization under Boisrond Canal, and, in the interim, revolutionary committees were formed throughout the country, intent on furthering the presidential aspirations of various citizens. Anténor Firmin, Montplaisir Pierre, and Callisthènes Fouchard were the outstanding men prominently mentioned for the presidency. General Nord Alexis, an octogenarian of long revolutionary fame and perpetual aspirant for the presidency, figured in this list as well. In June, fighting occurred at Cap Haitien between partisans of Firmin and Nord Alexis. The situation grew tense and soon the *Firministe* movement had become a civil war, essentially between the Northwest and Artibonite region and Port-au-Prince. There was sharp fighting at Limbé, Saint Marc, and Saint Michel. The events described in this modest work of M. Délienne are the engagement at Limbé, the movement on Gonaives and the collapse of the Firminist cause with the abandonment by Firmin of Haitian territory to go into exile. The first part of the volume covers the Limbé events and numerous other aspects of the chaotic situation of 1902, especially the famous blowing up of the Haitian vessel *Crete à Pierrot* by Admiral Killick to prevent its falling into the



hands of the Germans, who were exerting pressure on Haiti due to the seizure by Firminists of a cargo of munitions of the provisional government aboard a German vessel. In December, the rebellion had ended and General Nord was proclaimed chief executive. Much too little has been written and published concerning Haitian history since independence. This little monograph is a welcome addition to the bibliography of contemporary Haitian history.

The volume *La Politique Exterieur de Toussaint Louverture* by Marceau Lecorps, judge of the *Tribunal de Cassation* at Port-au-Prince, consists essentially of the correspondence of Edward Stevens, consul of the United States in Saint Domingue during the years 1799 and 1800. It comprises the translation in French of seventeen letters addressed by this functionary to Timothy Pickering and to John Marshall. The position of Stevens and the fact that he enjoyed the high confidence of Toussaint Louverture make his correspondence extraordinarily real and full of information and sidelights on the projects and intentions of the first of the blacks. These are letters, of course, taken from the collection published in 1910 in the *American Historical Review*. There is, perhaps, a double motive for the publication of this text at the present moment and more than a hint of this is given in the remarks in the preface; that besides making available to Haitians the French text of this interesting correspondence, it also reveals the concern and solicitude of the Jefferson administration for the struggle going on in the West Indian island. This interest in things Haitian, in which there was no material intervention, antedates the year 1934, when Roosevelt made manifest his intention to retire the armed forces from Haiti. The timeliness of this little publication may be to present American connections with Haiti in a more favorable light than high commissioners and marine incursions.

In addition to this series of letters the translation of a chapter of Henry Adams, *History of the United States during the Jefferson Administration*, dealing with events in Saint Domingue and the effects of the defection of Louverture on Napoleonic diplomacy, is included. At the end of the volume are several important documents including the complete text of the secret Treaty of 1799 between England, represented by General Maitland and Toussaint Louverture, and the agreements of that same year between England and the United States relative to the policy of both nations in the French colony of Saint Domingue. Finally, we find a lecture by the author delivered in 1934



on the Constitution of 1801. No less interesting is this little exploited aspect of Louverture's régime, the famous constitution by which he created himself virtual ruler of the island, and accelerated the march toward a complete separation. In brief compass, the constitution is ably examined and dissected, and the circumstances under which it was promulgated, studied.

The work as a whole might be better called a selection of important documents bearing in various ways on the foreign policy and relations with other nations of the colony during the two critical years of the rule of Toussaint—1799 to 1801. It need not be emphasized that these years were of enormous significance in determining the course of events, for even though Toussaint waged war and was forced to submit in 1804, only to suffer deportation, the fact that there were behind him several years of able and energetic administration, practically free of French control, prior to the arrival of the ill-fated expedition of Leclerc, is in itself important enough to lead one to the conclusion that in all probability the expulsion of the English, the Constitution of 1801, and the capable foreign policy of Toussaint paved the way for the real independence of 1804.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

*Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla.* Compiled by FRANCISCO NAVAS DEL VALLE. Preceded by an *Historia General de Filipinas*. By PABLO PASTELLS, S.J. Tomo IX. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas. Pp. ccxxv, 325. Paper, 30 pesetas.)

The present volume is a continuation of the preceding instalments of this excellent series. It covers the period of the governments of Diego Fajardo and Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, and up to the arrival of the new governor, Diego de Salcedo. The publication date of the cover page is 1936, but that on the title page is 1934. However, the printing (which was done by the Tipografía de la Viuda de Luis Tasso) was finished, according to the colophon, on February 26, 1936.

The *Historia General*, which was fortunately finished by the venerable Father Pastells, while he was still living, relates in ten chapters the continuation from Vol. VIII. of the history of the Augustinians and their missions; the residencia of the energetic governor, Sebastián



Hurtado de Corcuera; the condition of Christianity in Japan and the decadence of Catholicism in the Philippines; the attempt of the Dutch to seize the ships trading to China; insurrections in the Bisayas Islands; the complaints of Governor Fajardo against the Dominicans in Pampanga; the arrival at Manila of Governor Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, who succeeded Governor Fajardo; the wretched condition of the archipelago in 1661; the memorials of the Jesuit lay brother, Francisco Vello, relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Maluco and the establishment of the inquisition in the Philippines; and matters relating to the Jesuits. Among the most important matters treated are the Chinese disturbances of 1661 and 1662—the third major insurrection of the Chinese in the Philippines—which had a background in Formosa and in China. Kuo-hsing-yeh (generally called Koxinga, but Cogseng by the Spaniards) seized Formosa, for he had remained true to the Ming cause, and threatened to attack the Philippines if they did not acknowledge his authority. The result was the insurrection of the Chinese in Manila in 1662, who were fearful of the Spaniards, who, themselves were fearful lest the Chinese in the archipelago make common cause with Koxinga. Of equal or even greater importance was the withdrawal of the Spaniards from the Maluccas, an act to which they were forced by the Dutch attacks. For the rest, the history centers around the missionary efforts, the mutual reactions of the civil and religious authorities, troubles in Mindanao and Jolo, and purely administrative measures.

The *Catálogo* lists documents for the period covered by the *Historia General* (1645-1662)—in all 2,789 separate papers (Nos. 18104-20892). As in preceding volumes, these documents touch every angle of the history of the islands—social and economic, religious, administrative, and ethnological, relations with China and Japan, the affairs of the Moluccas and the Dutch, contacts between the ecclesiastical and religious authorities, and so on. To the student of the history of the Philippines, the list is invaluable, and taken together with the *Historia General* and the Blair and Robertson series, there is no lack of material for the history of the Philippines. The *Catálogo*, indeed, obviates in some respect the lack of notes in the *Historia General* and the table of contents to the latter must stand in place of an index, which is lacking. Both the *Catálogo* and the *Historia General* furnish an excellent chapter in the history and methods of Spanish colonization.



Like the preceding volumes, the format, paper, and printing are beyond reproach. It is to be hoped that the narrative carried thus far by Father Pastells will be continued by another, and that the *Catálogo* by Sr. Navas del Valle will also be continued.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Annapolis, Maryland.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

### A NEW INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY

An institute for the study of Jesuit history was officially opened on June 11 of the present year at Loyola University, Chicago. The inauguration program consisted of a symposium of addresses delivered in two sessions, which outlined the scope, purpose, and possibilities for research in the various lines of the Jesuit advance into North America. Since these addresses are being published in *Mid-America* (July and October numbers), it will be necessary here only to indicate their purport and their relation to the Hispanic American field.

The purpose of The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University as stated by its director, Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., is to collect, organize, catalogue, and publish source materials of the Jesuits. The effort is collaborative, and already six historians of the Society residing in universities of the middle west are committed to the task, namely, Gilbert J. Garraghan, W. Eugene Shiels, Raymond Corrigan, Raphael N. Hamilton, Jean Delanglez, and the director. For the time being, the concentration will be upon the materials pertaining to the work of the Jesuits in the Mississippi Valley and its immediate approaches, with stress upon the social and cultural developments in which Jesuits have had part. A documented survey of the westward movement of the Jesuits from White Marsh, Maryland, to Santa Clara, California, written by Father Garraghan in three volumes, is now in press, and other projects are being mapped.

Before an extension of scope into the Hispanic American field can be made by the institute, an agreement will have to be made with historians of other Jesuit provinces in both Europe and the Americas. In 1940, the Society of Jesus will commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of its establishment. Each of the provinces throughout the world has been asked to make some scholarly contribution in memory of the occasion, and each is expected to make some historical research. As a result, the final arrangements between the new institute and other works are not completed. The *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* is being reëdited and amplified at Rome. The fifty-odd volumes have scarcely touched the archives pertaining to sixteenth



century Hispanic America, and consequently there is now in project a *Monumenta Floridana* and a *Monumenta Mexicana* with a great likelihood of similar volumes for other places in South America. Again, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, publishes semi-annually the letters and documents from various archives of the Jesuits. Evidently, because of the wide dispersion and varied nature of the sources, agreements will be necessary to prevent duplication of effort and output.

The relation of the Loyola Institute to a great project sponsored by Herbert E. Bolton for research in Pacific Coast history is one of collaboration. Several years ago Dr. Bolton laid plans for the publication of a series of works on the Jesuit progress up the Pacific slope, and he estimated that years would be required to exploit the materials available in the United States and Mexico and to produce them after the fashion of the Thwaites edition. Together with the publications of documents, monographs are to appear, and he himself has set the standard with his *Rim of Christendom*, which is to be followed by several volumes of materials from which the work was derived. Three Jesuits have worked out phases of the plan, Father Jacobsen taking the foundations of the order in New Spain, Father Shiels taking the first missionary martyr to the north, and Father Dunne carrying the story to 1620. It was in the plan of Dr. Bolton to have an institute of writers and researchers on the Pacific Coast, but the scarcity of men prevented this. However, others are interested and other portions of the project are taken care of, and the above mentioned Jesuits intend to collaborate in the Pacific Coast project as much as possible.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, S.J.

#### A PETITION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF O'DONNELL AS CAPTAIN GENERAL OF CUBA

There are few incidents in the history of Cuba about which there is more uncertainty than there is about the slave uprising of 1843, and the slave conspiracy supposed to have been discovered the following year. The Cuban historian, Vidal Morales y Morales wrote: It is not yet certain if there was a conspiracy of Negroes and mulattoes in 1844 or not: the ablest investigation has not yet succeeded in discovering the thread of the plot. . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vidal Morales y Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros Mártires de la Revolución Cubana* (Havana, 1931), I, 281-282.



It is not with the intention of arriving at any certainty about this conspiracy that these pages are written, but rather to place at the disposal of the reader a petition for the retention of Leopoldo O'Donnell as Captain General of Cuba on account of his action in handling the situation.

The facts briefly summarized are these: In 1843 in the province of Matanzas there occurred slave uprisings on several sugar plantations. Much damage resulted to property and some foremen and superintendents of plantations were killed. It was necessary to use troops as well as armed bands of civilians to suppress the insurrections, and this was soon accomplished in a rather bloody manner. It was believed by many that these revolts had support in Haiti and Jamaica, and that Mr. Turnbull, the British consul in Havana, was implicated in the plots. The fear created by these events had not been allayed when there started rumors of a conspiracy on the part of thousands of slaves who, with the assistance of free Negroes and some foreign support, were supposed to be preparing to seize control of the island and convert it into a Negro republic. Captain General O'Donnell acted so vigorously that his name has become almost synonymous with cruelty in the minds of the later generations of Cubans. The famous *comisión permanente militar* was put into action and one of its courts was set up in Matanzas with the result that hundreds, if not thousands, of Negroes became the victims of its cruelty. According to some accounts many were whipped to death in full view of others as an example. Many free colored persons were accused and some executed, the most noted being the poet Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés, better known as *Plácido*. Many white opponents of slavery were accused of a share in the conspiracy. The names of José de la Luz Caballero and Domingo del Monte figure among these.

Although since that time Cubans are almost unanimous in condemning O'Donnell he was not without his defenders in the island in his own day. Among the papers of the *Junta de Fomento* of Havana is found the following *Acuerdo* of April, 1844:

Expediente formado para suplicar á S.M. se digne conservar en el Mando de esta Ysla el Esemo. Sr. Dn. Leopoldo O'Donnell como necesario en las actuales circunstancias.\*

Acuerdo

En Sesión de la Junta de fomento de Agricultura y Comercio de 25 de Abril

\* Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Junta de Fomento, legajo 11 no. 810.



de 1844, presidida por el Esc'mo S'or Gobernador y Capitan-General: suspendida la discusión por la avanzado de la hora rogó la Junta á S.E. le permitiera continuar la Sesión, ocupándose de asuntos que no eran compatibles con su presencia.

Habiendose retirado S.E. de la Sala y ocupado la Silla de la presidencia el S'or Consiliario D. José Maria de Cagigal; el Sor Teniente de Sindico expuso: la necesidad en que se hallaba la Junta de ocurrir pr. el inmediato Correo en respetuosa manifestación á S.M. á hacerle presente, que pendientes como estaban los destinos de la Ysla de las disposiciones extraordin's. que había desplegado el Esc'mo Sr. Capitan G'ral D. Leopoldo O'Donnell, en la sublevación de los esclavos y de las gentes libres de color, de la que logrado contener el plan y descubrir las vastas ramificaciones; sería peligrosísima la separación de este gefe, que promueve con ardor los exteriores de la prosperidad del país.

La Junta acogio unanimemente la moción, y para participar á S.E. que se ocuparía de la representación en sesion extraordinaria del Sabado 27., se diputaron a los Sres Escmo. Conde de Santo Venia y Conde de Cañongo, los que informáron haber accedido S.E., recomendando el acatamiento conque debía hallarse á S.M. Para redactarse se nombráron a los Sres Escmo Conde de Santo Venia, Teniente de Sindico y Secretario; que quedando la Junta citada para el 27, á la hora y lugar de costumbre, se levantó la Sesión.

JOSÉ MA. DE CAGIGAL.

ANTONIO MA. DE ESCOVEDO.

ANTONIO DE ESCOVEDO.

Es Copia

Serio

In the extraordinary session of April 27th the petition quoted below was reported and unanimously approved:

Sra.

La Ysla de Cuba, que in medio de tantas convulsiones políticas se ha conservado s'pre ilesa, acaba de ser salvada ahora pr. un milagro visible de la Providencia, y pr. la firme decisión y la incansable actividad de su actual Capn. G'ral. D. Leopoldo O'Donnell, del mayor riesgo y del peligro mas inminente que hasta aqui la habia amenazado. Una estensa vasta y horrorosa sublevación, tramada pr. los esclavos que pueblan nuestros campos; suscitada y promovida por los libres y emancipados de las ciudades: conspiracion qe. en sus combinaciones abarcaba todo el territorio de la Ysla; qe. se ramificaba pr. el extranjero, y que naturalmente contaba pr. auxiliares con todos los que tienen aquel color; concebida con el arte mas perfecto y cuyo secreto no ha sido hasta ahora violado pr. ninguno de los comprometidos, se hallaba á punto de estallar y hubiera consumado los mas espantosos estragos y destruido á la vez la vida y la fortuna de estas moradores, si el dedo de la Provid'a. que, seguramente nos protege, no hubiera inspirado á V.M. el feliz pensam'to. de poner el mando de esta Ysla en las espertas y diligentes manos del distinguido que hoy la gobierna. Apenas hizo su entrada en el destino cuando empezaron a precludiarse en sus campos los primeros amargos de la conspiración, y aunque al principio se miraron como uno de aquellos acontecim'tos. ordinarios y sin consecuencias qe. tan comunes eran antes en el país, su misma insistencia y repetición escitaron el celo de la auto-ridad: y tan activo penetrante y sagaz como oportuno en dictar providencias qe.



nos salvasen del peligro, ha logrado pr. fin penetrar pr. el dédalo complicado antiguo y habilm'te. organizado de una sublevación que tenia pr. objeto de parte de la gente de color alzarse con el dominio de la tierra y condenar á muerte á los que tantos beneficios derramaron sobre ellos. La Junta de Fomento, fiel testigo e inmediata observadora de la alta previsión y la energia que en estas circunstancias ha desplegado nuestro Capn. G'ral., no puede menos qe. atribuir á su infatigable celo y actividad el feliz resultado de salvarnos del abismo y de haber conservado pa. V.M. esta joya preciosa de su Corona: ha dominado enteramente las circunstancias y teniendo en sus manos el hilo de la conspiración es positivamente el mas á proposito, conocido tambien su caracter y bizarría, pa. consolidar ntra. tranquilidad y asegurar pa. s'pre. el reposo de la Ysla. Su nombre, el respeto qe. le concuete y la afección del país son prendas de estabilidad y duracion que en medio de la calamidad que nos rodea, nos permite vivir como si estuviésemos en la mas profunda paz: y la Junta de Fomento no duda decir a V.M. que en la brillante pag'a. de servicios que ha prestado el G'ral O'Donnell, el que ahora ha contraído en esta Ysla, no sera contado pr. la imparcial historia como uno de los menos meritorias y importantes. Teme con todo que la causa vencida y sus agentes en Europa, enemigo declaradas de la tranquilidad de este suelo, intentar tal vez mancillarle y prevenir contra sus merecimientos el real animo de V.M. Y como la suerte y ventura de toda la población de la Ysla cifran hoy en el completo esterminio de esa hydra revolucionaria, la Jta. de Fomento, interprete de los sentimientos de sus moradores, ocurre llena de confianza á impetrar de V.M. como una gracia y la espresion unanime del país, que se digne conservarle en mando, desoyendo las sugestiones que quizas la prensa y la mala voluntad pudieran sugerir contra su persona: voto unido con el deseo mas sincero de conservar á V.M. la posesion de estas dominios que se honran de pertenecer á la noble y generosa Nación que gobierna.

Habana y Abril 27 de 1844

A. L. R. P. D. V. M.

JOSÉ MA. CAGIGAL, *Presidente.*

DOMINGO GOICOURIA.

JULIAN DE ZULUETA.

JULIAN ALFONSO.

NICOLAS GALERAN.

MARQUES DUQUESNE.

CONDE DE ROMERO.

CONDE DE SANTO VENIA.

MIGUEL EMBIL.

JOAQUÍN ANDREU.

JOAQUÍN SANTOS SAUREZ.

MARQUÉS DE LA CANADA TIRREY.

FRANCISCO OGÉR.

MARIANO ROSELLO.

ANTONIO MA. DE ESCOVEDO, *Secretario.*

Whatever may be the truth about the existence of the conspiracy there can be little doubt that the members of the *Junta de Fomento*



were thoroughly convinced that there was a dangerous plot. Their claim to be the true interpreters of the opinion of the whole population of Cuba is open to question. On the other hand it was undoubtedly true that they represented the opinion of the influential element of the people. Let us consider who these men were. The *Junta de Fomento* was the successor to the *consulado* established in 1794 to promote the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the island. The man largely responsible for the creation of the latter was the noted Cuban, Francisco de Arango y Parreño, who was for many years its syndic and guiding spirit. In a sense his influence remained with the body until it was reduced to insignificance in 1854. Arango was an active opponent of abolition and so was the *Junta de Fomento* to the very end. The members of the *Junta* were royal appointees chosen from the prominent merchants and planters of the island. They naturally represented the most conservative element—the group of people who were liable to the most loss by an insurrection of any kind. Many were slave owners and most were connected with the institution in some way. As is evidenced by the names affixed to the petition quoted above, many held titles of nobility which placed them among the group that had received honors from Spain. In short, they were people who would be very unlikely to welcome any serious change in the existing order of society. The captain general was *ex officio* president of the *Junta* as he was of every other public corporation in the island. He was present at the beginning of the session at which the *expediente* was prepared but was asked to withdraw so that the *Junta* could consider some matters not “compatible” with his presence.

It would be impossible to estimate the number outside the wealthy class or even in it, who agreed with the statements made in the petition about General O'Donnell. There were undoubtedly many who were greatly frightened by the rumored conspiracy. The census of 1841 gave the population of the island as 418,211 whites, 436,495 slaves and 152,838 free colored persons. Justin McCarthy, writing of the Sepoy Rebellion, said:

Perhaps there is hardly any panic so demoralizing in its effects as that which seizes the unwarlike members of a ruling race set down in the midst of overwhelming numbers of subject populations, at a moment when the cry goes abroad that the subjected are rising in rebellion.\*

\* Justin McCarthy, *A History of our own Times* (2 vols. New York, 1887) I. 584.



The writer remembers the fear produced in the elders as well as in the children of South Georgia around 1910 when the rumor was rife that "the niggers were goin' to rise". Guns and ammunition were stored in homes where such things were ordinarily uncommon. On one occasion, only the merest accident prevented some whites from beginning anticipatory retaliation on some Negroes who had chosen the unearthly hour of four in the morning for one of their numerous lodge meetings. When calmly considered, the idea of a formidable Negro uprising anywhere in the United States, even in South Georgia where the Negroes were more numerous then than now, is only to be laughed at. Not so the situation in Cuba in 1843-1844. There had been many such uprisings before and there have been some serious ones since. Perhaps the most outstanding one in the minds of the Cubans was the revolution in the neighboring island of Santo Domingo where the most frightful scenes had taken place within the memory of people still living in 1844. It was rumored that some of the conspirators of 1844 were from the Republic of Haiti. When these things are considered I think we may safely conclude that there were many people in Cuba whose opinions coincided with those expressed in the petition of the *Junta*.

What effect the *expediente* had on the Spanish authorities I can not say but it is likely that O'Donnell's retention as captain general of Cuba until 1848 was partly owing to this petition. Other acts of O'Donnell as well as his handling of the conspiracy were severely criticized but at least one of the signers of the petition continued to hold him in high esteem. Navarro, in his book *O'Donnell y su tiempo*, closed the chapter on O'Donnell's administration in Cuba with the following:

And when he [O'Donnell] was leaving for Europe, the Conde de Santo Venia, a wealthy American who has left an unforgettable memory in Cuba because of his liberality and good taste, wished to present O'Donnell with a picture of Charles III. set in diamonds. "Many thanks, Count," replied O'Donnell on refusing this memento of friendship. "Let me have the glory of leaving Cuba without accepting gifts from anybody."

When the "impartial history" mentioned in the *expediente* tells the story of O'Donnell's rule in Cuba it will probably take middle ground between the O'Donnell who came as a "providence" of God,

\* Carlos Navarro y Rodrigo, *O'Donnell y su tiempo* (Madrid, 1869), p. 59.



as he is pictured in the above petition, and the "criminal" O'Donnell who has been described by so many others.

D. C. CORBITT.

Candler College,  
Fuentes Grandes,  
Havana, Cuba.

Professor Henry Grattan Doyle, dean of Columbian College and professor of Romance Languages in the George Washington University, read a paper on "A realistic Approach to Inter-American Understanding" on Monday, July 6, at the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. The conclusion of his address is as follows:

Latin Americans and Anglo Saxon Americans are different in their racial, religious, political, cultural, and psychological backgrounds. Each group has good qualities and bad, with the proportion of each about balanced. The North American attitude of superiority finds its just reward in South American suspicion and distrust. No amount of fine talk will ever take the place of calm analysis of scientifically collected data leading to constructive achievements in the political, economic, literary, and scientific fields as a means of building mutual confidence and understanding. Ultimately, education and a real spirit of tolerance must be relied upon to bring about the millennium of perfect understanding which now seems almost unattainable to those who try to attack the problem from a realistic point of view. In the meantime, they should do everything in their power to counteract the harm done by marginal people who set themselves up as "experts" on Latin America. . . .

The Latin America Section of the Institute of Public Affairs held at the University of Virginia, July 5-18, 1936, was directed by Professor Dana G. Munro, of Princeton University. The general subject of this section was "Current Problems in our Latin American Relations". Among the various speakers were Professor Henry Grattan Doyle, of The George Washington University; Mr. John B. Glenn, of the Banco Nacional de Mexico (New York), and Mr. Ernest Galarza, of the Year Long School, of Long Island, who spoke on "Economic Relations with Mexico"; Dr. W. W. Cumberland, of Wellington & Co. (New York), and Mr. William Reid, of the Pan American Union, who spoke on "American Investments in Latin America"; Dr. W. E. Dunn, of the Department of Commerce (Washington), who spoke on "Trade Barriers"; Dr. Adrian Recinos, Minister of Guatemala, and Mr. Donald Heath, of the Division of Latin American Affairs (Washington), who spoke on "The Proposed Inter-American Conference". One session was devoted to Puerto Rico.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### NOTES ON RECENT PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ITEMS

Under the general editorship of the eminent Spanish historian, Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, the firm of Salvat of Barcelona is planning to publish a 23 volume *Historia de América y de los Pueblos Americanos*. So important will be this collection that it seems worth while at this point to indicate the titles and authors of the individual volumes.

1. América indígena (El Hombre Americano—Los Pueblos de America). By Luis Pericot García.
2. América indígena (Las Culturas Americanas). By Luis Pericot García.
3. Génesis del descubrimiento. By Antonio Ballesteros. Los Portugueses. By Jaime Cortesão.
4. Colón. By Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta.
5. Los primeros tiempos de la colonización. Cuba y las Antillas. Magallanes y la primera vuelta al mundo. By Armando Melón y Ruiz de Gordejuelo.
6. Descubrimiento y conquista de México. By Angel Altolaguirre.
7. Descubrimiento y conquista del Perú. By Pío Zabala y Lera.
8. Descubrimiento y conquista de las Regiones del Plata. By Julián María Rubio y Estéban.
9. Descubrimiento y conquista de Venezuela y Nueva Granada. By Saturnino Rivera Monescan.
10. Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile. By H. Pérez de la Osa.
11. Los Virreinos en los siglos XVI y XVII. By Virgilio Colchero y Arrubarrrena.
12. Los Virreinos en el siglo XVIII. By Cayetano Alcázar.
13. Instituciones. By José María Ots y Capdequí. Arte colonial. By Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante.
14. Iglesia. by Antonio Ibot León. Cultura. By C. Pérez Bustamante.
15. La América del Norte (Estados Unidos y Canadá). By Henry William Elson.
16. El Brasil. By Jaime Cortesão.
17. La Emancipación de Hispano América. By Luis de Sosa Pérez.
18. La Argentina Independiente. Uruguay y Paraguay. By Sigfrido Radaelli.
19. México Independiente. By Carlos Pereyra.
20. México Independiente y Centro América (Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panamá y las Antillas independientes). By Carlos Pereyra.



21. Colombia, Venezuela y Ecuador independientes. By Raimundo Rivas.
22. Chile, Perú y Bolivia independientes. By Jorge Basadre.
23. La Argentina Independiente. By Sigfrido Radaelli.

Volume I, *América indígena*, by Professor Luis Pericot García was published early in 1936. It consists of a quarto volume of 768 pages with over three hundred illustrations, many of them colored. It sells for 70 pesetas. A review of this important work will be published later in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Hispanic American specialists in the United States are disposed to accord too little attention to the products of German scholarship in their field. The best means of keeping *au courant* is of course to read the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, published quarterly by the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut of Berlin (Breitstr. 37). The last volume (Jahrgang IX, April 1935-January 1936) includes a number of articles of exceptional interest, a few of which may be mentioned. Ingeborg Richarz, "Die neuen Verfassungen in Brasilien und Uruguay" (pp. 8-17), is a careful analysis of the new constitutions of Brazil and Uruguay. Special attention is naturally devoted to provisions not found in earlier instruments. Hans Steffen continues a monographic study entitled "Beiträge zur Erforschungsgeschichte der Patagonischen Kordilleren" (pp. 18-42). This study is devoted only in part to the geology and geography of the southern Andes. Much attention is paid to the Indians and the gradual Spanish penetration into these remote areas. Richard Konetzke in "Die ersten Deutschen Berichte über die Eroberung Perú" (pp. 101-108), publishes with a brief introduction the first German account of the conquest of Peru. The original appeared in the *Neue Zeitung aus Spanien und Italien*, Mense Febrero, 1534. Manfred Kuder, in "Ernest Niemeyer, ein Deutsch-Brasilianischer Dichter, Leben, Weltbild und Werk" (pp. 109-121), introduces us to the chief German poet of southern Brazil. Though he writes entirely in German, Niemeyer accurately reflects the Brazilian *milieu*. Professor Otto Quelle, the editor of the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, spent some time in Seville as a delegate to the International Americanist Congress of 1935. In this connection, he prepared an interesting article "Iberoamerika in Sevilla" (pp. 151-158), in which he discusses the Casa de Contratación, the Archivo de Indias, the Biblioteca Colombina, the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, the University of Seville, the Heme-



roteca (a remarkable collection of newspapers from all of Hispanic America), and the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América. Justus Wolfram Schottelius, on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the founding of the capital of Ecuador, published the first two instalments of an unusually interesting monograph entitled "Die Gründung Quitos. Planung und Aufbau einer spanisch-amerikanischen Kolonialstadt" (pp. 159-182; 226-294). The author bases his account chiefly on the *Libros de Cabildos*, recently published by the municipal authorities of Quito. The eminent ethnologist, Dr. Karl Sapper, has a most unusual article on the cultivation of bees in Central America and Mexico from pre-Columbian days down to the present time: "Bienenhaltung und Bienenzucht in Mittelamerika und Mexico" (pp. 183-198). Karl H. Panhorst and Edith Faupel, in "Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung von Otto Philipp Braun, Grandmarshall von Montenegro", describe the activities of a German soldier, Philip Braun, who took an active part in the Wars of Independence in northern South America and was an intimate friend of Bolívar. A number of important documents are reproduced and two proclamations are given in facsimile.

An interesting and fairly plausible attempt to rehabilitate one of the most sinister figures of fifteenth century Spain has been made by the French writer Marguerite Jouve in *Torquemada, Grand Inquisiteur d'Espagne* (Paris, 1934). Mme. Jouve has placed under requisition most of the Spanish writers on the Holy Office from Hernando del Pulgar (*Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos*) to Menéndez y Pelayo (*Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles*). References to the works of Henry Charles Lea are conspicuously absent.

Under the auspices of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid, the Spanish scholar Dr. Silvio A. Zavala has written two remarkable books on the juridical problems flowing out of the conquest of the Americas and the contact between the Spaniards and the Indians. Both works which constitute volumes I and II of the "Sección Hispanoamericana" of the Centro, deserve detailed treatment in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Only the titles can be noted here: *Las Instituciones Jurídicas en la Conquista de América* (Madrid, 1935, pp. viii, 350), and *La Encomienda Indiana* (Madrid, 1935, pp. iv, 356).



Dr. Gregorio Marañón, one of the most notable figures in the Spanish Republic, has published a second and enlarged edition of his *Ensayo biológico sobre Enrique IV de Castilla y su tiempo* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1934, pp. 216). It is an acute study of the pathology of this strange and little understood ruler of the fifteenth century Castile.

Professor José María Ots, the eminent Spanish historian, sometime member of the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América of Seville, has written a scholarly and penetrating analysis of the institutional life in Spanish Colonial America in his *Instituciones sociales de la América Española* (La Plata, Biblioteca Humanidades, Tomo XV, 1935, pp. 270). Among the topics treated are the legal and social conditions of the Indian, the position of women, the status of the family, and the like. It is a work which no student can afford to overlook.

The erudite Jesuit writer, Constantino Bayle, has assembled a number of valuable data on educational conditions in the Spanish colonial period in his *España y la Educación popular en América* (Madrid, Ediciones Fax, 1934, pp. 392). The book supplements the study of Vicente G. Quesada, *La Vida intelectual en la América Española durante los Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, published in Buenos Aires in 1910.

The scanty literature on the history of medicine in the Spanish colonial period is enriched through a brief study by the eminent Peruvian physician and scholar, Dr. Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán, entitled *Cuatro Siglos de Medicina Limense* (Lima, Casa Bayer, 1935, pp. 44).

The municipality of Buenos Aires during the colonial period has been the object of a competent and scholarly study by Adolfo Garratón in his book *La Municipalidad colonial. Buenos Aires, desde su Fundación hasta el Gobierno de Lariz* (Buenos Aires, Librería de Jesús Menéndez, 1933, pp. 457). The work, which is based entirely on original material, treats of such topics as "Gobierno municipal", "Administración comunal", "Los Servicios urbanos", "Los Cabildos abiertos", "La Justicia municipal".



With the curious title, *El Hermano Pecador. Tradiciones y Leyendas de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, L. J. Rosso, 1935, pp. 133), Adolfo Garretón has gathered together some of the most interesting legends of colonial Buenos Aires. "El Hermano Pecador" is none other than the unhappy son of Philip II., Don Carlos, who in the guise of a friar visited the new world.

On July 8, 1884, was enacted the most important single piece of educational legislation in the history of Argentina up to the present time. It made possible popular education, lay, gratuitous, and obligatory, and as such constitutes a landmark in the country's cultural evolution. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this law the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party had the happy idea of offering three prizes (the first 1,000 pesos) for the best monograph on the general theme of "La Influencia de la ley de educación común No. 1420 sobre el desarrollo cultural de la República Argentina y medios eficaces para intensificar su aplicación". The first prize was won by the writer, Dr. Antonio Portnoy, with a monograph entitled *Educar al soberano* (one of the mottoes of Sarmiento). This little monograph, published by the Comité Ejecutivo del Partido Socialista is a really remarkable survey of the development of Argentine education during the past fifty years. Copies may be secured from the author, Lascano 2656, Buenos Aires.

The late Matiniano Leguizamón, whose death on March 26, 1935, was such a severe blow to Argentine history and letters, left a number of completed manuscripts. Two of these have just been published under the titles of *La Cuña de Gaucho*, and *Papeles de Rosas* (Buenos Aires, Editores, S. A. Jacobo Peuser, Ltda.). The first of these works is a collection of nine articles in which the author has shown in immense erudition and considerable ingenuity in determining the origin of this interesting type. He has proven, to his own satisfaction at least, that the *gaucho* had his origin in Argentina, and not, as many allege, in Uruguay. The etymology of the term is also carefully studied. It came from "huacho", a Quechua word which means "orphan", or "abandoned". In the *Papeles de Rosas* are rendered available for the first time a number of documents from the secretariat of Rosas. Sr. Leguizamón limited himself to prefacing each one with an explanatory paragraph. Some of the documents deal with impor-



tant episodes in the dictator's career. The impression left with the reader is far from favorable to Rosas.

Some two score of the most notable addresses on educational topics delivered by Dr. Ricardo Levene, former president of the University of La Plata, during the last twenty years have been published under the title of *Fuerza Transformadora de la Universidad Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Editorial "El Ateneo", 1936, pp. 307). They constitute a valuable source of information on the rôle which the Argentine universities have played in national life. They also reveal some of the activities of one of Argentina's most noted educators and historians. Professor Rafael Altamira has written a delightful and appreciative "prólogo".

Students of Portuguese history will welcome a second edition of the well-known work of Alfredo Pimenta, *Elementos de Historia de Portugal* (Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1935, pp. 565). It carries the story from the beginning of the monarchy to Portugal's entry into the world war.

Aid in understanding the political structure of contemporary Bolivia is supplied by Franklin Anzana Paz in his study entitled *Le régime parlementaire en Bolivie* (Paris, F. Loviton & Cie, 1933, pp. 169). The author proves to his satisfaction that the presidential type of government is the only one suited to his country.

One of the most important documents dealing with the discovery of Brazil is the famous letter of Vaz de Caminha who was the first to relay the good news to Portugal. A critical study of this letter has been published by the Portuguese scholar Manoel de Sousa Pinto with the title of *Pero Vaz de Caminha e a carta do "achamento" do Brasil*. Lisboa, Academia das Ciencias (Biblioteca de Altos Estudos), 1934, pp. 77.

Primarily for German consumption the Brazilian writer and physician, Jorge de Lima, has attempted to summarize the chief factors in the formation of the "Brazilian race" in his *Rassenbildung und Rassenpolitik in Brasilien* (Leipzig, Verlag Adolf Klein, 1934, pp. 54). His thesis is that the Brazilians should systematically adopt a policy of "Aryanization".



A good survey of the activities of the Germans in southern Brazil from 1824 to the present is given by Aurelio Porto in his work *Die Deutsche Arbeit in Rio Grande do Sul* (São Leopoldo, Verlag Roter-mund & Co., 1934, pp. 297).

Under the direction of Dr. Alcides Bezerra the Brazilian National Archives published in 1935 a large number of exceptionally interesting documents dealing with the "Revolução Farroupilha" which in the third and fourth decades of the last century desolated the province of Rio Grande do Sul. The volume is entitled *Publicações do Arquivo Nacional*, Vol. XXXI (Rio de Janeiro, Oficinas Graphicas do Arquivo Nacional, 1935).

The last number of the *Revista do Instituto Historico Brasileiro* (Volume 166, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1935) contains a reissue of an important work by the Visconde de Ouro Preto, the last prime minister of the empire, entitled *A Marinha de Outrora*, a book which has long been out of print. The title is a bit misleading; practically the entire book is concerned with the rôle of the imperial navy in the Paraguayan War. The author, who was an ardent monarchist, wrote the book in the darkest days of the republic, in the midst of the famous naval revolt of 1893. It may be looked upon as glorification of the empire and by implication a criticism of the republic. The Historical Institute is well advised in making available one of the really notable works in Brazilian historiography.

Several years ago, Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto, one of the most eminent of Brazilian archaeologists, wrote a remarkable work on the history, anthropology, geography, and linguistics of the hinterland of Brazil. He entitled it *Rondonia* after the name of General Rondon, the famous explorer. The work was printed in an elaborate and costly form and consequently is to be found only in large libraries and in the hands of wealthy amateurs. Fortunately a new, inexpensive edition was published in 1935 by the "Editora Nacional" of São Paulo, in the series called "Collecção Brasileira". It is lavishly illustrated with photographic reproductions, especially those of Indians.

*Os Indígenas do Nordeste*, by Professor Estevão Pinto of Pernambuco, is a careful study of the inhabitants of northeastern Brazil, both Indians and Negroes. The work, which is published in São Paulo by



the Cia. Editora Nacional (1935), is a valuable contribution to the history and ethnology of a comparatively neglected portion of Brazil.

Among the numerous works called forth by the centenary of the "Guerra dos Farrapos", as the civil war in Rio Grande do Sul which raged from 1835 to 1845 is called, is that of Fernando L. Osorio, entitled *A Guerra dos Farrapos* (Porto Alegre, Livravia do Globo, 1935). The author is a descendent of General Osorio, the "Centaur of the Pampas", who had a prominent part in these struggles.

One of the greatest living Brazilian authorities on international law is Clovis Bevilacqua. A biography of this remarkable jurist, who was born in 1859, has been written by one of his students, Sr. Macario de Lemos Picanço, under the title of *Clovis Bevilacqua. Sua Vida e sua Obra* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Educadora, 1935).

As is well known, the inquisition was never established in Brazil. Those subject to the Holy Office were sent for trial to Portugal. The fate of some of these unfortunates, especially a famous heretic known as "O Judeu", is set forth by Evaristo de Moraes in *Caceres e Forgueiras da Inquisição* (Rio de Janeiro, Athena Editora, 1935). The work is an important contribution to a little known phase of Brazilian colonial history.

In 1900 was published a fascinating work entitled *Minha Formação*, the autobiography of the great statesman, diplomat, and abolitionist, Joaquim Nabuco. The work has been out of print for some time and is hard to obtain. It is good news, therefore, that the publishing house of "Civilização Brasileira" of Rio de Janeiro is planning to reissue the works of Nabuco, under the denomination of *Edição Uniforme das Obras de Joaquim Nabuco*, of which *Minha Formação* was published in 1935. The series will of course include Nabuco's famous three-volume life and times of his father, entitled *Um Estadista do Imperio*, the most important single work ever written on the empire.

Of the various Portuguese scholars interested in Brazil perhaps the most eminent is Sr. Antonio Augusto Mendes Corrêa of Oporto, a distinguished anthropologist and member of the faculty of sciences of Oporto. In 1934, Dr. Mendes spent several months in Brazil, espe-



cially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, making contacts with his colleagues and inspecting institutions of higher learning. The results of his journey are incorporated in a delightful and interesting book entitled *Cariocas e Paulistas. Impressões do Brasil* (Porto, Fernando Machado & Cia, 1935).

In *Soluções Nacionais* (Rio de Janeiro, Editora José Olympio, 1935), Menotti del Picchia analyzes contemporary problems of Brazil and suggests solutions. Sr. Menotti is one of Brazil's best-known contemporary novelists.

Dr. Mario Mello, the perpetual secretary of the Instituto Archaeologico e Historico of Pernambuco, has written a number of interesting chapters on the history of his native city under the title of *Aspectos da Historia* (Recife, Edições da Casa Mozart, 1935).

One of the most interesting of the social and political phenomena in contemporary Brazilian history is the growth of the "Integralista" movement, a type of Brazilian fascism. Perhaps its best known exponent is a Paulista named A. Pompeo, who has recently set forth his beliefs in two books published in São Paulo (Empresa Graphica "Revista dos Tribunaes") in 1935, namely *Porque e que sou integralista* and *A defesa do Brazil (Profissão de fé integralista)*. The reason for the author's belief is stated on page one in the first of these books: "Creio em Deus; amo o Brasil; defendo a familia christã". "Integralismo" is strongly nationalistic and religious; it is at the same time anti-Marxist and anti-Semitic. It seems destined to have considerable influence in Brazil. Sr. Pompeo's other works, all published in São Paulo, include *Os Paulistas e a igreja* (2 vols., 1929) and *Ruy e Nabuco* (1930).

For a number of years the Chambre de Commerce Franco-Bresilienne of Paris has published an interesting monthly review entitled *Brasília*. While the majority of the articles deal with commercial and economic topics there is much of general interest to students of Brazilian history and institutions. Among the articles in the October (1935) number, for instance, may be mentioned "Les rapports intellectuels Franco-Bresiliens", "Le Lysée Franco-Bresilien de São Paulo", "La superiorité du Brésil, en ce qui concerne le Café, est-elle menacée?", "Le problem des dettes exterieures", "Le coton,



La Consommation au Bresil'', "Le Brésil et la Doctrine de *l'Utī Possidetis*". The address of the publishers of the review is 18, Rue del' Arcade, Paris (VIII); and the yearly subscription price is 85 francs.

The *Revue de Droit International*, no. 1, 1935, contains an excellent article entitled "Le Brésil et la Doctrine de *l'Utī Possidetis*" by Sr. Hildebrando Accioly, Director dos Servicios Politicos of the Ministry of Foreign Relations at Rio de Janeiro. A special reprint of this article has been made by Les Editions Internationales de Paris (1935). Dr. Accioly will be remembered as the author of the valuable and authoritative *Tratado do Direito Internacional Publico* (3 vols., Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1933-1935) already noted in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

An entirely new slant on the slavery question in Brazil is afforded by the work of Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças Africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, Cia. Editora Nacional, 1935). The author discusses in detail the various maladies introduced into Brazil by slaves from Africa and their ill effects both on the Negro and white population.

The well-known Brazilian professor of geography, Sr. Basilio de Magalhães, has issued a second and enlarged edition of his *Expansão Geographica do Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo, Cia. Editora Nacional, 1935). It is invaluable for the geographical basis of Brazilian colonial history.

One of the results of the visit of President Gatulio Vargas to Argentina in 1935 was the publication of a brief but comprehensive *Historia del Brasil* (Buenos Aires, Editorial Beltran Victoria, 1935), by Professor Juan G. Beltran. Naturally considerable space is devoted to the relations between Brazil and Argentina; for the first time, perhaps, Brazilian intervention in the Platine area is treated with real objectivity. It is the best Spanish history of Brazil thus far written.

During the year 1935, the well-known historian Pedro Calmon (Pedro Calmon Moniz de Bittencourt) published two works on Brazil of more than passing interest. The first, issued in São Paulo, is entitled *Espirito da Sociedade colonial* and is a careful study of life in



colonial Brazil from the standpoint of both the sociologist and historian. The second and more important work is called *O Rei do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio). It is an excellent study of the life and times of Dom João VI. Though less detailed and authoritative than the magisterial *Dom João VI* of Oliveira Lima, it presents this interesting monarch under a number of new and arresting points of view. Among the other important historical productions of Professor Calmon may be mentioned: *Historia da independencia do Brasil* (1928), *Anchieta* (1929), *O rei cavaleiro, vida de D. Pedro I* (1933), *Historia da Civilização Brasileira* (1933). This last work was crowned by the Brazilian Academy.

Count Affonso Celso, the perpetual president of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, and member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, has published a life of his illustrious father under the title *O Visconde de Ouro Preto* (Porto Alegre, Livraria do Globo, 1935). The viscount, it will be remembered, was the first prime minister of the empire. The biography deals in great detail with the critical years when the fate of the monarchy was being decided. It is one of the notable recent additions to Brazilian biographical literature.

One of the younger historians of São Paulo, Sr. Alfredo Ellis Junior, in *O Bandeirismo Paulista e o Recuo do Meridiano* (São Paulo, Cia. Editora Nacional, 1935), has described the manner in which the Paulistas pushed back the Portuguese-American frontier and the line of demarcation in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

In 1862, a caustic and disgruntled Frenchman, one Charles Expilly, wrote a book called *Le Brésil tel qu'il est*. Though unflattering, it is interesting and in the main truthful. A translation with introduction and notes has been published by Gastão Penalva under the title *Mulheres e Costumes do Brasil* (São Paulo, Cia. Editora Nacional, 1935).

*Dois Grandes Vultos da Republica* (Porto Alegre, Livraria do Globo, 1935) represents the début as an historian of Hermes da Fonseca Filho, the son of Marshal Hermes da Fonseca whose presidency (1910-1914) represents a fallow period in Brazilian history. The two *Vultos* are Deodora da Fonseca, the "Founder" of the republic, and the Baron of Rio Branco, the great minister of foreign affairs.



A popular account of the early settlers in Brazil, especially in the captaincy of São Vicente, comes from the pen of A. F. de Almeida Prado, with the title of *Primeiros Povoadores do Brasil* (São Paulo, Cia. Editora Nacional, 1935). The author pays especial attention to the Jews who found their way into Brazil in the sixteenth century.

An excellent study of the Brazilian statesman Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, Marquez de Abrantes (1798-1865) has been published by the well-known historian Pedro Calmon with the title of *O Marquez de Abrantes* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, 1934. Pp. 302).

Interest in the new Brazilian constitution is still keen. One of the most important recent commentaries is that of Araujo Castro, *A Nova Constituição Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Editora Freitas, 1935, pp. 622). The work contains a detailed analysis of the constitutions together with the text of this instrument. It is equipped with elaborate footnotes, which not only elucidate the Brazilian constitution, but supply pertinent comparisons with similar documents in other countries. There is also an excellent index. It is by all odds the most valuable treatise on the subject that has come to the attention of the writer of these notes. The author is a judge in the state of Maranhão. He has courteously offered to send copies of his book to all those who are genuinely interested in Brazilian constitutional law. His address is simply São Luiz do Maranhão, Brazil.

As many of the readers of this REVIEW are aware, the year 1935 was the centenary of the outbreak of the so-called Revolução Farroupilha, which desolated the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul for an entire decade. Quite appropriately every number of the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Rio Grande do Sul* for the year 1935 contains articles, many of them excellent, on this revolt. Ano XV, I, II, III, IV Tremestre, Porto Alegre, Livraria do Globo).

An excellent account of the history, ethnology, and resources of a little known section of the Amazon Basin is given by Josias de Almeida, *Do Araguaya as Indias Inglezes* (São Paulo, Cia. Editora Nacional, 1935).



The artistic wealth of the Brazilian state of Minas Geraes has for the first time been described with something approaching adequacy in a 500 page folio work by Professor Annibal Mattos of the University of Belo Horizonte, entitled *Monumentos históricos, artísticos e religiosos de Minas Geraes* (Bibliotheca Mineira de Cultura, Edições Apollo, Belo Horizonte, 1935). Some notion of the scope of this magnificent work may be gathered from the titles of several of the chapters: "Das origens historicas de Minas Geraes", "Da Antiguidade do homen na America", "Familias fundadores das Minas Geraes", "As primas manifestações da arte em Minas Geraes", "As cidades antigas de Minas Geraes", "A episcopal Marianna", "Ouro Preto", "A principal cidade de historica de Minas Geraes", "As ingregas de Ouro Preto", "Otras cidades antigas". Embellished with many sketches by the author and a wealth of photographic reproductions this book reflects great credit on the publishers.

Little by little are beginning to appear regional histories of Brazil which may lay some claim to being authoritative. The latest instance is the work of Sr. Collemar Natal e Silva, *Historia de Goyaz* (2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, Mundo Medico, 1935). Its importance is vouched for by such eminent historians as the Count of Affonso Celso and the Baron of Ramiz Galvão, respectively presidente and orador perpetuo of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro.

One of the best biographical studies which has appeared for some time in Brazil is from the pen of Elroy Pontes, *A Vida Inquieta de Raul Pompêia* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1935). The subject of this study was a brilliant essayist who died in 1895 at the age of 32. He was involved in a number of the most important social and political movements in the late eighties and early nineties of the last century.

One of the really notable books published in Brazil in 1935 was that of the illustrious scholar and jurist Rodrigo Octavio, entitled *Minhas Memorias dos Outros. Nova Serie* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio Editora). The writer looks back over a long life of fruitful activities and writes a number of charming appreciations of the great men he has known. Such figures as Machado de Assis, Rio Branco, the Duke of Caxias, Ruy Barbosa, seem to live again. A



review of this important work will later appear in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

For some thirty years the law faculty of São Paulo has been publishing an excellent quarterly entitled *Revista da Faculdade de Direito*. Since the law faculty was made an integral part of the recently founded University of São Paulo, the *Revista* has been considerably enlarged in scope and content. In addition to the articles of a purely juridical character there is always a number of contributions of interest to the student of Brazilian history. Thus in the April-June number of the year 1935 (Volume XXXI) is a thoughtful article by Dr. João Arruda on constitutional reform in Brazil and a brilliant lecture by the eminent Catholic writer Tristão de Athayde on changing legal concepts. The most important article of the year, however, is a lecture by the distinguished jurisconsult, Dr. Rodrigo Octavio, in the July-September number, entitled "Foi un dia um convento". This is a remarkable synthesis of the history of education in São Paulo since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759.

A most useful aid to the students of Cuban history has just been published by Sr. Gerardo Castellano García, a resident of Guanabacoa, and a corresponding member of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, under the title of *Panorama Histórico; Ensayo de Cronología Cubana* (Librería Martí, Habana, 1935). It consists of a stout volume of 1,669 pages listing year by year the chief events in Cuban history from 1492 to 1934. All told there are 3,005 entries. The accounts become much fuller for the last few years. The value of this work is enormously enhanced by a really good index. Sr. Castellano is the author of nearly a score of works dealing in large part with hitherto neglected aspects of the history of his country.

One of the greatest honors which can fall to the lot of a Cuban historian is to be elected "miembro de número" to the Academia de la Historia de Cuba. Such was the distinction accorded to Professor José M. Pérez Cabrera early in the present year. The address which he delivered on this occasion and which was published by the Academy (Habana, 1936) dealt with an important episode in the early nineteenth century history of Cuba, and is entitled "La conspiración de 1824 y el pronunciamiento del alférez de dragones Gaspar Antonio Rodríguez". Dr. Pérez is the author of a number of historical works



including *Un Emisario de Rey José* (1935) and *Estudios y Conferencias* (1934). Included in the latter publication are such interesting essays as "La Constitución española de 1818 y su influencia en la historia política de Cuba", "Gobernadores españoles de los siglos XVIII y XIX", and "La Expedición de los trece".

Countess Gertrud von Podewils-Dürnitz, on the basis of chroniclers such as Fray Pedro Simón, Bishop Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita and others, has written a delightful book entitled *Lagenden der Chiboha. Nach spanischen Chroniken erzählt* (Stuttgart, Strecker & Schröder, 1934). There are all told 21 of these stories dealing with the myths, legends, and exploits of the Chibchas. So highly was this work regarded that it was translated into Spanish by the Colombian scholar, J. M. Restrepo-Milan, under the curious title of *Chigys Mie (Cosas Pasadas) Leyendas Chibchas* (Bogotá, Editorial de Cromos, 1934, pp. 136).

The celebration of the fourth centenary of the founding of Cartagena brought forth a number of important monographs and other publications. Chief among these was one by Enrique Otero D'Acosta, *Comentarios críticos sobre la Fundación de Cartagena de Indias (Sacado a la luz bajo el Patrocinio de la Academia Colombiana de Historia)* (Bogotá, 1933, Imprente "La Luz", pp. 472). The work deals largely with the exact date of the founding of Cartagena, which the author, supported by the Academia Colombiana, sets at June 1, 1533. On the other hand, the *Academia de Historia de Cartagena* insists that this event took place on January 20, 1533. The result has been interesting historical controversy.

The review *Senderos*, after two years of fruitful existence under the able editorship of Dr. Daniel Samper Ortega, the erudite director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Bogotá, has been taken over by the Ministry of Public Education. The last number edited by Sr. Samper was a triple one (October, November, December, 1935). It contains an unusually fine quota of articles, chiefly on literary and artistic themes, although history is accorded considerable attention. It is to be hoped that the change of editorship will not affect the publication of this review, in many respects the finest which has yet appeared in Colombia.



Productions of a purely literary character are as a rule not included in these notes. But occasionally a work evokes with such skill the spirit of an entire epoch that its inclusion seems justified. Such is the case of *José Asunción Silva, su vida y su obra*, a lecture delivered by the eminent Colombian critic, Sr. Emilio Cuervo-Marquez, at the Sorbonne in Paris on May 23, 1935, published the same year by the Editorial "De Faam" of Amsterdam. The life and times of the greatest of the Colombian poets, the author of the immortal *Nocturnos*, are discussed with charm and competency. Sr. Cuervo, who makes his residence in Paris, is the author of several novels (*La Selva Oscura*, *Phinées*), a delightful book of travel (*Tierras Lejanas*) and a *Guide Historique de Paris*. He has in preparation an *Introducción al estudio de la Filosofía de la Historia* and a collection of his essays and speeches.

Largely through the efforts of Dr. Carlos García Prada there was launched in 1935 the most promising initiative ever undertaken in the field of education in Colombia. This brilliant young scholar and educator, who was on a leave of absence from his teaching post at the University of Washington, as representative from Santander introduced a bill into the Congress at Bogotá for the creation of a university on the order of the foremost institutions of higher learning in the United States. With slight modifications his project was accepted and Colombia will soon possess a university commensurate with its importance. The "Exposición de motivos" in which Dr. García Prada's ideas are developed at length, has been printed under the title of *La Universidad Nacional de Colombia y su organización* (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1935, pp. 33).

A valuable guide to the diplomatic history of Chile from the origin of the republic to the death of Andrés Bello has been prepared by Sr. Alberto Cruchaga Ossa, asesor jurídico of the ministry of foreign affairs. It is entitled *Jurisprudencia de la Cancillería Chilena* (Santiago, Imprenta Chile, 1935) and was completed in 1932 on the centenary of the publication of Bello's famous *Derecho Internacional* though not published until three years later. It will be recalled that from 1834 almost until his death Bello was "Oficial Major en propiedad del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores" and as such powerfully influenced both the practice and theory of Chile's foreign



relations. This bulky volume consists of excerpts of Bello's own memoranda and reports, as well as those of the ministers of foreign affairs. The items are arranged chronologically; access to this mine of material is also facilitated by an index of nearly thirty pages.

In *El Cristal Indígena*, Arias Augusto (Quito, Editorial América, 1934, pp. 208) has recreated the figure of one of the leading men of Ecuador, Dr. Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo, a physician, writer, and first librarian of Quito. He is also famous as being the "Anunciador" in Ecuador of the war of liberation against Spain.

On the occasion of the centenary of the birth of General Barrios, a full length biography of this Guatemalan hero was published by Casimiro D. Rubio under the title of *Biografía del General Justo Rufino Barrios, Reformador de Guatemala. Recopilación histórica y documentada. Homenaje de la Policía a su fundador* (Guatemala, Tipografía Nacional, 1935, pp. 665). The volume contains a number of important hitherto unpublished documents which shed much light, *inter alia*, on President Barrios's attempt to constitute a Central American Union.

Those who are interested in the history of Mexico as interpreted by a spokesman of the present government may consult with profit a *Guide to the History of Mexico. A Modern Interpretation* (Mexico, Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1935, pp. 375) by Professor Alfonso Teja Zabre. The Marxian tendencies of the writer are evident throughout and appear especially in the section entitled "The new ideology". The work was translated from the Spanish by Sr. P. M. del Campo.

The Second Mexican Historical Congress which assembled last November (1935) in the City of Mérida, Yucatan, opened most auspiciously with the presence of a large number of Mexican intellectuals. The inaugural address was made by the secretary of public education, Lic. Gonzalo Vázquez Vela. Unfortunately, this harmony was short-lived. Three days later a group of communists invaded the sessions, seized the chairmanship, and dissolved the congress. These elements enjoyed the support of the governor, Lic. Fernando López Cardenas, despite the fact that he had earlier declared the delegates to be the guests of honor of the state. The change in attitude was apparently



owing to the failure of the congress to follow the norms of Marxian ideology.

One of the best accounts yet published of the international status of the Republic of Panamá is the recently published doctor's thesis of Publico A. Vásquez Hernández, *La personalidad internacional de Panamá* (Madrid, Imprenta de A. Marzo, 1933, pp. 155). The work analyzes in great detail the relations of Panamá to the United States. His conclusion is that the great northern republic has loyally striven to respect the sovereign rights of Panamá.

Licenciate Ignacio García Téllez, former secretary of education in Mexico, has published a series of essays on educational problems under the title of *Socialización de la Cultura* (Mexico, Porrúa, 1935). The topics discussed include "La Universidad e el Estado", "El Problema de las Secundarias—La Politécnica Nacional", "La Libertad de Enseñanza", "La Cultura superior y la Investigación científica", "La Reglamentación de las Profesiones".

Interesting sidelights on the legal status of the Indians in Hispanic America are to be found in the work of Licenciate Lucio Mendieta Núñez, *Las Poblaciones Indígenas de América ante el Derecho* (Mexico, Porrúa, 1935).

*The Historical Bulletin*, a quarterly magazine published by the Jesuit University of St. Louis, contains in its May, 1935, number an interesting article on the work of the Jesuits in Paraguay by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., entitled "The Martyrs of the Reductions".

New material on the period of the conquest of Peru is continually coming to light. One of the latest finds is a journal of one Juan Ruiz de Arce who in 1525-1535 took part in expeditions to Central America and Peru and eventually fought under Francisco Pizarro. Two Spanish scholars, Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, have published the journal under the title of *Servicios en Indias de Juan Ruiz de Arce conquistador del Perú* (Madrid, 1933, Tipografía de Archivos, pp. 62). The authors describe in detail the customs and manners of the Inca realm, the quarrel between Atahualpa and his brother, and the capture of Cuzco. They censor severely the murder of Atahualpa.

With the laudable purpose of making better known the art and industries of the ancient Peruvians, especially as they are revealed in



the British Museum, Henry van den Berg has written a valuable booklet entitled *The Incas and their Industries* (London, George Routledge and Sons, 1934, pp. 48).

Sr. Roberto Levillier, the scholarly Argentine ambassador to Mexico, has made an important contribution to the history of colonial Peru in his *Don Francisco de Toledo, Supremo Organizador del Peru* (Buenos Aires, 1935). A number of biographies on this important viceroy have already appeared but it is a safe conjecture that Sr. Levillier has made them all more or less obsolete. This work is the first of a trilogy; the title of the others will be *Los Incas del Perú* and *El Perú de Carlos V y Felipe II*.

*La Inquisición en Lima (Síntesis de su historia)* (Lima, Librería El Inca, 1935) is the work of a young Peruvian scholar, Octavio Cabada Dancourt. The inquisition is treated by the writer with great severity. Its activities were political and economic as well as religious. On its introduction into Peru "convirtiéndose en arma apta de ser usada, sin que mediase el casus belli, contra los Portugueses, vecinos émulos y seria amenaza de los virreynatos españoles". Sr. Cabada is apparently the first writer to find a certain connection between the *bandeirantes* of Brazil and the inquisition in Peru.

José Enrique Rodó, the author of the famous essay *Ariel*, at the time of his death was working on a number of biographical studies of historical figures in the early nineteenth century. The manuscripts came into the possession of one of his students, Sr. José Salgado, who has now published them under the title of *Ensayos Históricos Rio-platenses* (Montevideo, 1936). The persons dealt with are Belgrano, Vieytes, Labarden, Fray Cayetano, José Rodríguez, and Araujo y Leva.

The Archivo General de la Nación of Uruguay has just issued a valuable publication on the naval history of the Platine War of 1826-1828 under the title of *Diario de las Operaciones de la Escuadra republicana* (Montevideo, 1935).

The most recent tendencies in education in Uruguay, together with a comparison with conditions in his own country are set forth by the Bolivian writer, Víctor Cabrera Lozada in *Las Escuelas del Uruguay que he visitado. Panoramas e impresiones de un viaje de estudio y un capítulo sobre las escuelas bolivianas* (La Paz, Editorial López, 1931,



pp. 98). The author was director of education in La Paz for a number of years.

Under the title of *Economía centroamericana* (San Salvador, 1935) the well-known Salvadorean economist and statistician, Dr. Pedro S. Fonseca, has written an excellent survey of the economic development and possibilities of Central America with special reference to his own country. The book has been published by the author himself; his address is 7a. Calle Poniente 11, San Salvador. Dr. Fonseca has been granted a doctor's degree *honoris causa* for his studies on the climate and economic conditions of El Salvador.

An interesting and important contribution to our knowledge of the activities of the Franciscan missionaries in the valley of the Orinoco is to be found in the narrative of Padre Fray Ramón Bueno entitled *Apuntes sobre la Provincia Misionera de Orinoco e Indígenas de su Territorio con algunas otras particularidades* (Caracas, Tipografía Americana, 1933, pp. 164). Father Bueno was a scholarly and observant Franciscan who made careful observations of the Indians in the Orinoco basin (he lists no less than 43 different tribes). In the course of his travels he visited some of the most interesting cities of America and his comments on Lima, Mexico, Santiago de Chile, and New Orleans are of great value. In 1800, he was the host to Alexander von Humboldt in his mission on the island of Tortuga. The "prólogo" is by the eminent Venezuelan ecclesiastic and historian, Monseñor Nicolás E. Navarro.

An important work on a hitherto neglected phase of the cultural history of Hispanic America has been written by Miss Eleanor Hague under the title of *Latin American Music, Past and Present* (The Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana, California, 1934). The work evinces a wide knowledge of her subject. The treatment in general is chronological. The chapter headings will give an inkling of its contents: "The People and the Country", "The Fusion of the Colonial Period", "The Last Tonal Frontier—*Los Indios Bravos*", "Instruments and Songs", "The Sophisticated Music of the Present and its Prospects". There is also a remarkably comprehensive list of contemporary Hispanic American musicians and a good bibliography. The work is to be warmly commended.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.



## CALENDAR OF SPANISH DOCUMENTS IN JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY

The following pages constitute a detailed catalogue of three volumes of Mexican or Spanish State Archives preserved in the John Carter Brown Library.

These volumes formerly belonged to the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. At the seventeenth sale of the Phillipps books and manuscripts, held at Sotheby's on June 24-27, 1919, the three volumes, in the order of their arrangement here, were entered respectively as Nos. 271, 268, and 274 in the catalogue of the sale. They were purchased by Francis Edwards from whose catalogue, No. 396 (items 553-555), they were acquired by the John Carter Brown Library in June, 1920. Each of the three volumes bears on the recto of its fly leaf these symbols in the order given below:

Phillipps Ms } [*in longhand*]  
4307

[Crest] }  
Sir T. P. } [*stamp*]  
Middle Hill }  
4307 [*in longhand*]

Each volume has been supplied in the present description with an introduction, a detailed catalogue of contents, and an index (the numbers of which refer to the foliation of the manuscripts).

In the introduction the manuscripts are described and an attempt made to assess their historical value.

The detailed catalogue gives a précis of each document, with explanatory notes. The documents have been numbered so that, as a general rule, each document has its own number; when, however, different documents form an organic whole, they are classed together under one number.

The alphabetical index gives the principal subjects and names.

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### FIRST VOLUME

Phillipps Ms. 4307: Sotheby Sale Catalogue, June 24-27, 1919, No. 271.



*Description of Manuscript.*

In longhand, written on recto and verso, except folios 84-91 and 337-338, which are printed. 7 unnumbered folios, 1-441 numbered folios, 1 unnumbered folio.  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  in. Bound in vellum cover; on the back: R<sup>s</sup> Cedul<sup>s</sup>, y Otros Papel<sup>s</sup>, del Govier<sup>no</sup>; on the outside front cover, at the top: N<sup>o</sup> 4.

*Description of contents.*

The volume contains seventy-five documents or groups of documents, all written in Spanish. Most of them are either simple copies (*copias*) or certified copies (*testimonios*) of Royal Letters Patent (*reales cédulas*) addressed to the viceroys and other officials of New Spain. A few are addressed to the officials of Peru. Some are copies of letters written by different officials of New Spain to the Spanish king, to the viceroys, etc. As nearly all the *testimonios* were made in Mexico city, the volume must have formed part of the Mexican State Archives. Each document generally carries an indorsement which contains a summary of its contents and the whole collection is preceded by an index, occupying the first unnumbered leaves of the collation above.

*Age.*

Distinction must be made between the date when the originals were issued, the date when the copies were made, and the date of the collection. (a) All the documents have the date of their promulgation, except No. 71 and No. 72, which are undated, and No. 41, which is mutilated. The earliest date is 19 October, 1588 (No. 5), the most recent is 8 October, 1745 (No. 66). (b) Among the copies, only the *testimonios* are dated. The earliest was made 17 October, 1720 (No. 16), the latest 1 October, 1745 (No. 54). (c) The age of the collection is not certain. The *terminus post quem* is certainly 8 October, 1745, which is the most recent date mentioned (No. 66); the *terminus ante quem* cannot be determined exactly; it may be as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

*Disposition of the documents.*

The documents are disposed in the volume mainly chronologically, according to the year of issue of the originals. Three series can be distinguished: (a) Nos. 1-11 belong to the year 1655-1695; the chronological order is interrupted only by No. 5 which dates from 1588. (b) Nos. 12-48 belong to the years 1701-1743; the chronological order



is interrupted by No. 35 which dates from 1671, and by Nos. 27, 32, and 33 which belong to the series but are not in their chronological places. (c) Nos. 49-70 cover the years 1722-1745, except No. 58 which dates from 1671; the order within the series is not consistently chronological.

### *Importance.*

The volume contains a great number of important documents for the history of New Spain, being mainly a collection of royal cédulas concerning the government of that colony. Among many others, important materials may be found concerning the expedition of Brigadier General Rivera in the northern provinces of New Spain, the trade with the Philippine Islands, the oppression of the Indians in Yucatan, the general government, and the system of taxes; it is important to mention that the copy of the royal instruction concerning the Jesuit missions in Lower California is older than the text published by Venegas. (See Index under the different words).

Two documents are of especial interest in the history of the southern part of the United States. They are No. 62 for the history of the presidio of Pensacola in Florida, and No. 69 for the history of the provinces bordering Mexico: New Mexico, Texas, etc.

## CATALOGUE OF FIRST VOLUME

1. Fol. 1-2. Copy of a royal cédula to Duque de Alburquerque, viceroy of New Spain. Buen Retiro, 15 November, 1655.

Approves the viceroy's action concerning Don Pedro de Aledina Vico, visitor of the inquisition, who has exceeded his rights. Orders the viceroy to afford him every aid regarding the visitation but to restrain his other proceedings.

2. Fol. 3-5. Testimonio of a royal cédula of the queen regent (María Ana of Austria) to Marqués de Mancera, viceroy of New Spain. Madrid, 26 November, 1666.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 9 March, 1731.

Instructs the viceroy how to act when the inquisitors demand papers from the department of Gobernación y Guerra.

3. Fol. 6-8. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Don Juan Saenz Moreño, alcalde del crimen of the royal audiencia in Mexico. Madrid, 31 January, 1678.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 17 July, 1722.

Decreases that transactions in goods shall be made exclusively by the factor of the real casa of Mexico.



4. Fol. 9-11. Testimonio of a royal cédula. Madrid, 13 September, 1680.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 31 March, 1731.

Concerning the recusation of the general visitors and the method of procedure of the viceroy in that case.

5. Fol. 12-13. Copy of a royal cédula to Licenciado Bonilla, apostolic inquisitor in the city of Mexico. 19 October, 1588.

Copy of the oldest document of this collection.

Appoints Bonilla visitor of the royal officials in Peru.

6. Fol. 14-15. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the real audiencia of Guadalajara in Nueva Galicia. Madrid, 30 December, 1692.

The testimonio was made in Guadalajara, 24 April, 1728.

Concerning the goods left by Don Fray Manuel de Herrera, deceased bishop of Durango.

7. Fol. 16-17. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Conde de Galve, viceroy of New Spain. Madrid, 21 July, 1691.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 21 February, 1729.

Censures Don Juan Isidoro de Párdinas, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, for failure to obey the orders of the viceroy.

8. Fol. 18-21. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Conde de Galve, viceroy of New Spain. Madrid, 31 January, 1690.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 14 June, 1745.

How the viceroy shall enter and be received in the convents of nuns.

9. Fol. 22-23. Testimonio of a royal cédula. Madrid, 21 April, 1695.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 30 April, 1723.

Concerning the time from which the salary of the ministers and the officials appointed for the Indies dates.

10. Fol. 24. Copy of a royal cédula to Conde de Galve, viceroy of New Spain. Madrid, 20 May, 1690.

Explains the authorization of the viceroys to appoint provisional corregidores.

11. Fol. 25-26. Copy of a royal cédula to Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares, viceroy of New Spain. Madrid, 1 July, 1697.

Concerning the treasury warrants of the real hacienda paid by Viceroy Conde de Galve and Viceroy Conde de la Monclova and how the officials shall act in regard to them.

12. Fol. 27-29. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the real hacienda of Mexico. Buen Retiro, 20 April, 1701.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 9 November, 1722.

Orders that the payment of salaries of the viceroys shall cease with their



leaving their charge and that they shall receive only a six months' salary to cover their return expenses to Spain.

The cédula is followed by an account of salaries paid to various viceroys.

13. Fol. 30. Copy of a royal cédula to the real hacienda in Mexico. Barcelona, 13 December, 1701.

Orders that the 10,000 ducados, which were formerly given to the viceroys, shall not be paid them except to defray the expense of their return to Spain.

14. Fol. 31-34. Copy of a royal cédula to the real hacienda of Manila in the Philippine Islands. Madrid, 2 May, 1710.

Disapproves the action of the authorities of Manila for the manner in which they received Don Carlos Thomas Tournim [*sic*], apostolic delegate, going to China. Concerning Cardinal Tournon, see Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898 (Cleveland, 1906), XLIV. 143-144.

15. Fol. 35. Copy of a royal cédula to Don Juan Joseph de Veitia, general administrator of the quicksilver in New Spain. Madrid, 15 January, 1709.

Orders that the quicksilver shall not be sent to Mexico but shall remain in the city of La Puebla.

16. Fol. 36. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Marqués de Valero, appointed viceroy of New Spain. Buen Retiro, 21 December, 1715.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 17 October, 1720.

Grants the viceroy authority to form a special junta to deal with the abuses existing in Mexico.

17. Fol. 2 unnumbered leaves. Testimonio of a royal cédula. Buen Retiro, 15 July, 1716.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 3 November, 1723.

Forbids appropriation of money from the real hacienda for the funerals of the ministers of both kingdoms of Peru and New Spain.

18. Fol. 7 unnumbered leaves. Copy of a royal cédula to Don Prudencio Antonio de Palacios, lieutenant governor of Havana. Madrid, 9 February, 1716.

Enjoins him to visit the reales casas and the officials of New Spain.

19. Fol. 38-39. Copy of a royal cédula. Madrid, 13 November, 1717.

Determines the affairs which shall be sent *via reservada*.

20. Fol. 40. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the real hacienda of the casa of Mexico. Madrid, 3 January, 1718.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 3 November, 1722.

Enjoins restoration to Marqués de Valero of a part of the *media anata* (the annates of the half-year) paid by him.



21. Fol. 41-42. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Marqués de Valero, viceroy of New Spain. San Lorenzo, 16 July, 1718.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 25 August, 1727.

Directs the viceroy to put a stop to the excesses committed by Don Francisco Rodriguez de Ribas, president of the real hacienda of Guadalajara.

22. Fol. 43-44. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the real hacienda of Guadalajara. San Lorenzo, 16 September, 1718.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 15 March, 1730.

Orders suspension of the *juicio de residencia* in the case of President Don Toribio Rodriguez de Solis, he having died and no charges of restitution having been brought against him.

23. Fol. 45. Copy of a royal cédula to the tribunal de la contaduria mayor de cuentas of Mexico. Madrid, 25 November, 1719.

In the accounts submitted by the real hacienda of the casa of Vera Cruz, the tribunal shall carefully notice the entries spent without lawful orders.

24. Fol. 46. Copy of a royal cédula to Don Rodrigo de Torres. Madrid, 26 January, 1719.

Appoints Don Rodrigo de Torres captain of frigate.

25. Fol. 47-51. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Marqués de Valero, viceroy of New Spain. San Lorenzo, 15 June, 1720.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 3 August, 1731.

Orders the viceroy to stop the trade in forbidden drinks, to lower the excise on wine and brandy at Vera Cruz, and to render account of the expenditure of the excise.

26. Fol. 52-56. Copy of a royal cédula to the corregidor of Vera Cruz. Buen Retiro, 27 March, 1721.

Communicates the regulations, transmitted to Marqués de Valero, viceroy of New Spain, concerning the garrisons of Vera Cruz and Mexico. Contains many interesting details concerning the Spanish colonial army.

27. Fol. 57-58. Testimonio of a royal cédula. Aranjuez, 22 April, 1722.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 8 January, 1723.

Allows the viceroy (Marqués de Valero) to confer twelve *empleos* (offices) on his servants.

28. Fol. 59-65. Copy of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Casa Fuerte), the real audiencia of Mexico, and Don Gomes de Parada, bishop of Mérida in Yucatan. Madrid, 28 November, 1722.

Orders that the bishop of Mérida shall proceed at once to punish those who have harassed the Indians of Yucatan.

This large document contains a detailed and vivid description of the sufferings of the Indians in that province.



29. Fol. 66-71. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Marqués de Casa Fuerte, viceroy of New Spain. San Ildephonso, 2 September, 1726.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 29 September, 1745.

Insists on the exclusive jurisdiction of the viceroy in the matter of royal rents.

30. Fol. 72. Copy of a letter which Joseph Patiño wrote by order of the king. Sevilla, 1 August, 1731.

How the royal officials of Vera Cruz shall treat Don Juan Feran, castellano of San Juan de Ulua.

31. Fol. 73. Copy of two royal cédulas, which transmitted the secret letters concerning the interim of the viceroyalty in case of vacancy. Sevilla, 12 December, 1731.

The cedulas are reproduced without the secret letters.

32. Fol. 74. Copy of a royal cédula to Don Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casa Fuerte. Aranjuez, 22 April, 1722.

Instructs the viceroy how account of the royal service shall be given to the king and by whose hand.

33. Fol. 75-77. Testimonio of a letter from Don Joseph Patiño. Sevilla, 12 April, 1732.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 16 August, 1739.

Concerning the letters of the *via reservada* and the orders of the ministerio.

34. Fol. 78-80. Copy of a royal cédula to Marqués de Casa Fuerte, viceroy of New Spain. San Ildephonso, 25 September, 1733.

Concerning the new regulations for the mint in Mexico and the anxiety caused the people thereby.

35. Fol. 81. Copy of a royal cédula to Conde de Chinchon, viceroy of Peru. Madrid, 23 November, 1634.

Enjoins the viceroy to allow no ship to sail from Peru to New Spain within five years.

36. Fol. 82. Copy of a royal cédula to Marqués de Casa Fuerte, viceroy of New Spain. Aranjuez, 23 May, 1734.

Concerning the general visitor, Don Pedro Domingo de Contreras.

37. Fol. 83. Copy of a letter from Joseph Patiño to Marqués de Casa Fuerte, viceroy of New Spain. San Ildephonso, 9 July, 1734.

Forbids further building of ships in the dockyard of Guazacualco.

38. Fol. 84-91. Printed royal cédula. Buen Retiro, 8 April, 1734.

Concerning the continuation of trade between the Philippine Islands and New Spain and the conditions thereof. The document bears the royal signature and is



countersigned Juan Ventura de Maturana. It is published in *Extracto historial del expediente que pende en el consejo . . . de las Indias*, Madrid, 1736, pp. 208-214. See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898 (Cleveland, 1906), XLV. 57-60.

39. Fol. 92-94. Copy of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta). San Lorenzo, 25 November, 1736.

Concerning the remainder of the *permiso* (allowed cargo) of the ship from the Philippine Islands and the taxes imposed on its transportation.

40. Fol. 95-97. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta). San Ildephonso, 9 August, 1739.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 19 November, 1743.

Concerning the *medio real de fabrica material* for completing the cathedral of Mexico.

41. Fol. 98-99. Mutilated copy of a royal cédula, stating that the two jurisdictions, royal and ecclesiastical, cannot be united in one person, thus excluding the archbishop of Mexico from the viceroyalty.

Being mutilated at the end, the document has no date.

42. Fol. 100-103. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta). San Ildephonso, 9 August, 1739.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 19 November, 1743.

Directs that 59,000 pesetas shall be spent from the *medio real de fabrica material* to complete the cathedral of Mexico.

43. Fol. 104-123. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Don Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta). Buen Retiro, 13 July, 1739.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 16 March, 1743.

Orders the viceroy to carry out exactly the enclosed regulations concerning the tribunals and deferred causes of the real hacienda.

44. Fol. 124-131. Testimonio of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Pedro de Castro y Figueroa Salazar). Buen Retiro, 22 December, 1740.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 12 May, 1743.

Reprimands the viceroy for his faulty interpretation of the regulations of 8 April, 1734, regarding the trade of the Philippine Islands (see fol. 84-91, No. 38) and states what shall be done.



45. Fol. 132-139 and 140-151. Copy of a royal cédula to the viceroy of New Spain (Cebrian y Agustin Fuenclara). San Lorenzo, 30 November, 1742.

Informs the viceroy, by reference to certain reports held by the council of the Indies, of the damage done to the real hacienda through the operation of the privileges conceded to the consulate of Mexico in the actual regulations concerning the excises.

Fol. 140-151. Extract of the reports held by the council of the Indies.

46. Fol. 152-153. Copy of a royal cédula. Aranjuez, 26 May, 1742.

Approves the conduct of captain-general Pedro Malo de Villavicencio, during the vacancy of the viceroyalty between the death of Viceroy Pedro Castro Figueroa y Salazar, Duque de la Conquista (22 August, 1741) and the installation of Conde de Fuenclara (3 November, 1742).

47. Fol. 154-190. Copy of the instructions given by the king to Pedro Cebrian y Agustin, Conde de Fuenclara, viceroy of New Spain. Buen Retiro, 31 January, 1742.

Lengthy and important instructions for the government of New Spain in religious, political, judicial, and military affairs.

48. Fol. 191-195. Copy of a letter of Señor Joseph de Campillo. Mexico, 12 January, 1743.

Concerning the election of the prior, consul, and other members of the tribunal del consulado by the two parties of the Montañeses and the Vizcainos.

49. Fol. 196-205. Testimonio of a *respuesta fiscal* (answer of the fiscal). Mexico, 5 November, 1722.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 21 October, 1724.

Concerning the vacancies of *alcaldías mayores* and the manner of filling them, according to the decree of Marqués de Casa Fuerte, viceroy of New Spain.

50. Fol. 206-252. Testimonio of the royal ordinances concerning the mints of Madrid, Segovia, and Sevilla. Madrid, 9 June, 1728.

The testimonio was made in Madrid, 20 June, 1728.

51. Fol. 253-288. Testimonio of the royal ordinances concerning the mint. Cazalla, 16 July, 1730.

The testimonio was made in Madrid, 29 July, 1730.

52. Fol. 289-306. Testimonio of the report of Don Joseph Diaz de Celis, contador general de tributos to the viceroy of New Spain (conde de Fuenclara). Mexico, 1 November, 1744.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 29 May, 1745.

Concerning the loss suffered in that department of the real hacienda.



53. Fol. 290-304. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Conde de Fuenclara, viceroy of New Spain, concerning the missions in Lower California. Buen Retiro, 13 November, 1744.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 20 June, 1745.

This royal cédula deals with the Jesuit missions in Lower California and constitutes one of the most important official documents concerning those missions. It has been published by Venegas in his *Historia de la California*, II, part 3, sec. 21, pp. 502-517 from another royal cédula of 4 December, 1747, in which it was inserted. The present testimonio is older, having been made 20 June, 1745.

Concerning the content and importance of this royal cédula, see Zeph. Englehardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, I. *Lower California*, pp. 232-234.

54. Fol. 305-314. Testimonio of a royal cédula to Viceroy Conde de Fuenclara and the real hacienda of New Spain. Aranjuez, 15 May, 1744.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 1 October, 1745.

Concerning frauds committed in the transporting of money to the Philippine Islands and the arrangements to be made to correct them.

55. Fol. 315. Testimonio of a royal order. Puerto de Santa Maria, 2 July, 1729.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 7 December, 1731.

Concerning the advisability of trusting to one person the offices of castellano and governor of Vera Cruz.

56. Fol. 316-319. Testimonio of a royal cédula. Madrid, 3 February, 1724.

The testimonio was made in Mexico, 21 June, 1724.

Announces the resignation of King Philip V. in favor of his son Luis.

57. Fol. 320-325. Two testimonios of Gabriel de Mendieta Rehollo. Mexico, 25 July, 1724 and 4 August, 1724.

The first testimonio was made in Mexico, 27 July, 1724, the second also in Mexico, 11 August, 1724.

What was done in Mexico on occasion of the king Philip V's resignation.

58. Fol. 326-333. Copy of a royal cédula of the queen regent (Maria Ana of Austria). Madrid, 3 August, 1671.

Fixes the salvos to be exchanged between squadrons and galleys, ships, and capital places.

59. Fol. 334-336. Original despatch of the council of Castilla. Madrid, 3 August, 1720.

Concerning the prohibition of trade, the plague having broken out in Marseilles.



60. Fol. 337-338. Printed copy of a despatch concerning the same matter. Madrid, 3 August, 1720.

See fol. 334-336 (No. 59).

61. Fol. 339-346. Request of the provisional contador de tributos to the king. Mexico, 22 May, 1745.

Requests that he may be excused from giving bond in assuming his office.

62. Fol. 347-354. Copy of a report concerning the advisability or inadvisability of maintaining the presidio of Pensacola or Punta de Sigüenza. Mexico, 29 May, 1744.

The document is anonymous but is written by some official, perhaps the governor of the presidio.

This report, of interest for the history of Florida, seemingly has not been published. It attests once more the precarious position of the Spaniards in the Bay of Pensacola and the difficulties which arose from the vicinity of the French and the English.

Gives (1) a brief account of the events since Don Juan Jordan de Reyna took possession of the bay at the end of 1696 (see annotations in catalogue of vol. II, No. 2); French settlements under Monsieur de Bienville along the Mississippi; construction of a fort 1699-1701; unfavorable conditions for the Spanish; removing of the fort to Punta de Sigüenza; (2) a discussion of various reports about the advisability or inadvisability of maintaining the presidio; (3) the author's own opinion.

63. Fol. 355-357. Account given by the Señores of the Real Acuerdo of the expenses incurred for the cleaning of two *acequias* (canals) in Mexico city. Mexico, 21 July, 1718.

64. Fol. 358-359. Testimonio reporting the sentence pronounced by Judge Juan Diaz de Bracamont in favor of Don Juan Antonio Vasquez Yanes, majordomo and treasurer of the goods and rents of Mexico city. Mexico, 13 February, 1719.

65. Fol. 360-362. Testimonio of the edict promulgated by the Señores of the Real Acuerdo in Mexico. Mexico, 11 February, 1745.

Decrees that no *propinas* shall be paid.

66. Fol. 363-383. Suggestion made by the merchants of Spain, residing in Mexico, to the viceroy of New Spain (Conde de Fuencalara). Mexico, 8 October, 1745.

Sets forth their reasons for desiring the removal of an unsatisfactory trade ordinance.



67. Fol. 384. (three folios). Copy of a royal cédula. San Ildephonso, August, 1744.

That the galley of the Philippine Islands shall not be sent to Acapulco nor returned thence, but that a small ship shall be sent to the governor of the Philippine Islands. The measure was taken after the British admiral, George Anson, had captured the treasure-ship *Covadonga* (see H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, III. 355-356.)

68. Fol. 385-394. Three reports from the real audiencia of Mexico to the king concerning the advisability of putting into practice the pragmatic sanction of 25 February, 1734. Mexico, 5 February, 1743; 11 March, 1737, 15 February, 1743.

69. Fol. 395-419. Copy of the proposition of the viceroy of New Spain (Casa Fuerte) to the king on the occasion of the visitation of the presidios by Don Pedro de Rivera. Mexico, 2 March, 1730.

In 1724, Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera was sent by Marqués de Casa Fuerte to visit the presidios of Nuevo Toledo, Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Mexico, Nueva Estramadura, Nuevas Philipinas, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, Ostimuri, Sinaloa, and Texas. Rivera was accompanied by Don Francisco Alvarez y Barreiro, an engineer, whom he detailed to draw maps marking the boundary of the various frontier provinces. The visitation took four years (1724-1728) and is one of the most important for the history of northern Mexico and the southern part of the United States. As a result of that expedition, two books were published afterward by the Mexican Government. The first: *Reglamento para todos los presidios de las provincias internas de esta Governacion, hecho por el Excmo Señor Marqués de Casa-Fuerte*, was published in Mexico in 1729. The second is the well known *Diario y Derrotero de lo caminado, visto y observado en el discurso de la visita general de precidios, situados en las provincias ynternas de Nueva España, que de orden de Su Majestad executó D. Pedro de Rivera, Brigadier de los Reales Exerçitos* (Guatemala 1736). Concerning those publications, see H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, p. 195.

The present manuscript contains a double document: (1) fol. 395-406: a *representación* wherein the viceroy gives account to the king of the motives and the difficulties of the expedition, especially the opposition of the officials, the merits of Pedro de Rivera, and the measures taken on behalf of the presidios and published in the *reglamento* (see above); (2) fol. 407-419: the description which in the original accompanied the set of maps drawn by Engineer Barreiro; the maps are lacking from this copy; the description is a valuable contribution to the history of the frontier provinces, as it furnishes details concerning the geography, temperature, flora, and population.

70. Fol. 420-427. Report of the real acuerdo of the real audiencia of Mexico. Mexico, 16 October, 1741.

Concerns the withdrawal of the licences granted by the late viceroy of New Spain, Duque de la Conquista, for branding and slaughtering cattle.



71. Fol. 428-434. Reasons why in New Spain the bidding for the playing cards, powder, and pulque concessions and for other articles of the royal monopoly is not done by auction, and why the concessions cover a period of ten years.

Bears no name or date; of Mexican origin.

72. Fol. 435-441. Copy of the ordinances concerning *pulque blanco*.

Bears no name or date; of Mexican origin.

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## SECOND VOLUME

Phillipps Ms. 4307: Sotheby Sale Catalogue, June 24-27, 1919. No. 268.

*Description of Manuscript.*

Title: Papeles varios los mas de Indias. In longhand, written throughout on recto and verso in different hands; 5 unnumbered folios, 1-667 numbered folios, 1 unnumbered folio. 12 x 8¼ in. Bound in vellum cover; on the back: Papeles varios los mas de Indias. Tom. 1º.

*Description of contents.*

The volume contains a collection of 70 different documents or groups of documents, all written in Spanish. Most of them are originals: reports (*consultas* and *relaciones*), provisions (*providencias*) or suggestions (*presentaciones*), made by the council of the Indias (consejo de las Indias) or the junta de guerra for their own or the royal use or sent to the government of Spain by the colonial authorities. It seems, therefore, that the volume formed part of the Spanish and not the Mexican State Archives, although nearly all the documents treat of Indian, especially Mexican, affairs. Generally each document has on its first leaf a brief marginal notation of contents and carries also a fuller indorsement. The whole collection is preceded by a table of contents (from 2nd to 4th of the first 5 unnumbered folios).



*Age.*

Two different series can be distinguished: (a) The first, which contains all the documents except those catalogued under nos. 49-52, belongs to the period of Spanish history characterized by the War of the League of Augsburg (1686/88-1697) and the War of the Succession (1701-1712), more exactly to the years 1686-1706. The oldest document of this series (No. 28) was made in Madrid, 23 July, 1686; the most recent in Madrid, 20 January, 1706. A certain number of documents (Nos. 4, 5, 7, 17, 22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 40, 42, 44, 53, 56), which bear no date, were issued during the same period, as appears from internal evidence. (b) The second, which contains the numbers 49-52, belongs to the years 1728-1731. The earliest document of this series dates from 13 August, 1728, (No. 50), the latest from November, 1731, (No. 52). The collection, therefore, was made some time after the year 1731.

*Disposition.*

The documents have been arranged without order, chronological or other. Although the documents of the second series form a distinct unit as appears above, they are in their numerical designation a part of the first series.

*Importance.*

This volume is very important for an understanding of Spain's policy toward its American dominions during the troubled period of 1686-1706. It furnishes extensive and firsthand information concerning the Scotch attempt to colonize Darien, the organization of the Spanish fleet of the Indies, the fortification of the harbors of Cartagena, Porto Bello, Vera Cruz, and Havana, the struggle between the Spanish and the French in the Island of San Domingo (very important), the negotiations with the French government for the cession of Pensacola, and the officials appointed to the government of the Spanish dominions in the years 1692-1693. For the history of the southern part of the United States, valuable material may be found in the documents concerning Pensacola and in the lists of officials appointed to the government of Florida and the northern provinces of New Spain.



## CATALOGUE OF THE SECOND VOLUME

1. Fol. 1-8. Confidential instruction from a friend to his friend who is going as governor to Buenos Aires.

Anonymous and without date.

Contains advice for a good administration.

2. Fol. 9-28. Summary of the provisions, ordered by the king, to dislodge the Scotch from Darien. Madrid, 30 October, 1699.

This summary was composed the very year of the Scotch attempt to colonize Darien. It contains, besides the description of the itinerary followed by the settlers along the Spanish Main, a résumé of all the despatches sent from the court of Spain to the viceroys of New Spain and Peru, to the president of Panama, and to the governors of the towns on the coast. It attests the feverish activity of the Spaniards to prevent the landing of the Scots and to dislodge them from Darien. The document is also interesting for the date of the foundation of Pensacola in Florida. Whereas Spanish authorities (as Barcia, *Essayo Chronologico*, p. 316; see also catalogue of Vol. I, No. 62) affirm that Pensacola was founded as early as 1696, the French accounts all say that it had been occupied by the Spaniards but a few months before the arrival of Iberville in 1699, and simply to anticipate him. The following statement in this document seems to confirm the French view: "At the same time [*i.e.*, early 1699] the news arrived that the French with four warships were trying to found a settlement at the Bay of Pensacola, for the fortification of which Don Martin de Zavala had gone from Spain.

F. R. Hart, *The Disaster of Darien* (Boston and New York, 1929) quotes the same document from MS. 161 of the Audiencia de Panamá under the title: (58) 30 October 1699. Royal Memorandum, giving a narration of the Spanish action and policy toward the Scots from the earliest receipt of news of the attempt to found a settlement at Darien, with the orders issued, etc.—In appendix XXVIII (pp. 322-337), he gives the whole document in English translation.

3. Fol. 29-32. Provisions ordered for the support of the squadrons which go to the Indies. Madrid, 22 February, 1700.

4. Fol. 33-34. How to establish communication with the Indies.

Anonymous and without date.

5. Fol. 35-36. Principal conditions of the *asiento* de polvora in New Spain.

Anonymous and without date.

See fol. 35 (No. 5) and fol. 165 (No. 14).

6. Fol. 37-48. Autos concerning the third, fourth, and fifth tax register of Mexico City and letters written by Contador Juan Cane. Mexico, June, 1697.



7. Fol. 49-54. Detriment to the real hacienda of Spain and India caused by the asiento with the Portuguese company of Guinea, for introducing negro slaves into the Indies.

This document bears no date, but as it supposes the Scots established at Darien (fol. 52) it belongs to the year 1699 or 1700.

See fol. 35 (No. 5) and fol. 165 (No. 14).

8. Fol. 55-88. Report of Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamante upon the divers points contained in the letters and papers, which the junta de guerra ordered to be given him, concerning the island of San Domingo. Madrid, 20 May, 1700.

As a result of the alarming advance of the French in San Domingo, the Spanish government made inquiries about the situation. Both the council of the Indies and the junta de guerra handed the papers to Bustamante, who compiled a lengthy report about the general situation of the island. It is divided into two parts. The first one is to be found in this volume fol. 428-466 (No. 45) and belongs to the dossier which was examined by the council of the Indies in its *consulta* of 20 May, 1700. The second part, being the present document, belongs to the junta de guerra. All this appears from the title of both documents and from the following statement which opens the report of Bustamante (fol. 428): "El discurso y informe se divide en dos partes que son esta primera que pertenece al Consejo y la segunda que viene en otro papel que toca a la Junta de Guerra." At the beginning of his account to the junta de guerra, Bustamante says again (fol. 55): "Estae papel se reducira a cinco puntos, porque los demas de esta larga materia estan comprehendidos en el que se ha formado y pertenezce al Consejo."

This document, intended for the junta de guerra, is very important for an understanding of the struggle between the Spanish and the French on the island of San Domingo. Indeed, Bustamante gives a realistic description of the precarious situation of the Spaniards from the military and political point of view: the advance of the French, the bad conditions of the various presidios and military forces, etc.

The report is based on the letters of Don Serverino de Manzaneda, governor, captain general, and president of the audiencia of San Domingo (see fol. 55).

9. Fol. 89-102. Suggestions from the council of the Indies to the king as to whether the galleys and the fleet should leave Cadiz or remain in that harbor. Madrid, April, 1705.

That question was important because of the War of the Succession (1701-1712).

10. Fol. 103-112. Proposition made by Marqués de los Velez to the junta (Spain) to increase the revenues of the monarchy. Madrid, 26 July, 1687.



11. Fol. 113-158. Answer and consideration by the fiscal to the general question whether the system of encomiendas, which the king had allowed in favor of the idle Indians, should be abrogated altogether. Madrid, 30 December, 1696.

This document deals extensively with the system of encomiendas, its origin, history, and legislation, its advantages and inconveniences. Basing himself especially on the precarious state of the Spanish finances, the fiscal advises the king to abrogate the system and restore the Indians to liberty.

12. Fol. 159-162. Report by Don Manuel de Aperrigui concerning a Frenchman, a certain Monsieur Gisey, who tried to enter the Spanish colonies. Madrid, 12 July, 1700.

13. Fol. 163-165. Consideration of the case of Don Francisco Antonio de Castro, appointed corregidor of Piloja and Paspaya in Peru. Madrid, May, 1688.

Demand to be transferred to the corregimiento of Calcaylares.

14. Fol. 165-180. Copy of the consulta of the Council of the Indies concerning two oficios (official letters) delivered by the ambassador of Portugal and dealing with the *asiento de negros*. Madrid, 3 January, 1703.

15. Fol. 181-188. Protest from the council of the Indies concerning the invasion of the South Sea by French ships. Madrid, 23 January, 1703.

Reports two French ships, one of Monsieur de Beauchesne, the other of Monsieur d'Aorville, which entered the South Sea through the Straits of Magellan and carried on contraband trade in the harbors along the coast of the South Sea to the detriment of Spanish trade.

16. Fol. 189-190. Information given by the "Junta particular para las represalias de las Indias" concerning a ship of Ostend laden with Flemish cloth. Madrid, 3 June, 1689.

Just after the war was declared against France, a ship from Ostend was confiscated by the French. The junta proposes reprisals.

17. Fol. 191-192. Information concerning an increase in the tax called *media anata*.

Without name of author or date.

Points out the inconvenience of the measure, especially for the Indies, notwithstanding its necessity.

18. Fol. 193-204. Suggestions from the Council of the Indies to the King. Madrid, 15 September, 1702.

Advises the king to send galleys to the Indies and discusses the dispositions therefor.



Mentions the joining of the fleet of Tierra Firme with the squadron of General Admiral Don Po Fernandez Navarette, in order to dislodge the Scotch from Darien (fol. 193). See fol. 9-28 (No. 2).

19. Fol. 205-218. Information from the Council of the Indies concerning the ships of Don Carlos Gallo, which remain at Buenos Aires. Madrid, 10 July, 1703.
20. Fol. 219-230. Answer of Marqués de los Velez on the report of Conde de Oropesa concerning the necessity of having the galleys land at the port of Santander in order to be searched and to have their cargo in silver and gold registered. Madrid, 9 September, 1686.
21. Fol. 231-233. Animadversions by Marqués Manuel Garcia de Bustamante on request of Don Joseph de Zozaya who asked the king to establish a *juez privativo* (a judge with exclusive power) over the mines of New Spain. Madrid, 20 January, 1706.

The document bears the signature of Bustamante and the royal approval signed Joseph de Grimaldo.

22. Fol. 235-237. Copy of a consulta of the council of the Indies concerning the inadvisability of sending registered ships and reinforcements without convoy to Cartagena, Porto Bello, and harbors of Peru.

During the War of the Succession (1701-1712), under the pressure of the French Government, the Spanish council of the Indies examined frequently the question whether it would be advisable to send registered ships and reinforcements without the protection of galleys and warships.

This document dates earlier than 17 June, 1703, as it was known to the junta de guerra which assembled on that day. See fol. 244-265 (No. 25).

23. Fol. 238-241. Report of the purchase of public offices in Lima, as was agreed with Don Juan de Angulo.

The document bears no date, but another letter of Juan de Angulo is to be found fol. 366 (no. 36).

24. Fol. 242-243. Regulations for the Barlovento fleet.

The document has no date, but must be later than 8 October, 1698 (fol. 242).

It gives (1) the number of the warships of which the fleet should be composed: eight vageles; (2) the number of ships in existence: four vageles and one patache; (3) discusses the means of providing their *dotación* (fund appropriated to the repairing of ships).



25. Fol. 244-265. Animadversions of the junta to the king on the paper which Cardinal d'Etrel presented to the king of Spain by order of the king of France. Madrid, 17 June, 1703.

The French propose to provide the Indies with unconvoyed vessels. The junta disapproves the proposal for many reasons which are partly taken from the consulta of the council of the Indies, fol. 235-237 (number 22).

26. Fol. 266-271. Vote of the consulta of 24 July, 1703, held by a royal order transmitted by Marqués de Riveras, whereby the proposal of sending unconvoyed vessels is disapproved.

See fol. 235-237 (No. 22) and fol. 244-265 (No. 25).

27. Fol. 272-277. Disapproval of another suggestion for sending unconvoyed vessels to the Indies.

28. Fol. 278-290. Report of Marqués de los Velez and other ministers appointed by the king to regulate the relations between the bishop of Sulmona (Naples) and the administrators of the Casa Santa of the said city. Madrid, 23 July, 1686.

29. Fol. 291-304. Consulta of a special junta held to discuss the affairs of the house of Montezuma. Madrid, 2 May, 1687.

Discussion of a request from Da Condesa Geronima de Montezuma of the fourth generation in descent from the last native emperor of Mexico.

30. Fol. 305-307. Vote of the Duque de Jovenazo in the matter of regulating the trade between Spain and the Indies.

Jovenazo had been absent from the junta of 11 July, 1703 (see fol. 333 recto in the margin) which was one of the juntas assembled to deliberate upon the French proposal of sending unconvoyed ships to the Indies. See fol. 235-237 (No. 22), fol. 244-265 (No. 25), fol. 266-271 (No. 26), fol. 272-277 (No. 27), fol. 308-335 (No. 31).

31. Fol. 308-335. New form of the animadversion of the junta of 17 June, 1703 (see fol. 244-265, No. 25), which takes into account the vote of Duque de Jovenazo (see fol. 305-307).

The text is the same in both documents, except that the present one has an addition (fol. 333 recto in the margin).

32. Fol. 336-347. Copy of the consulta of the secretaria concerning the means of defending the Indies against an anticipated attack of the English and the Dutch. 22 December, 1702.

Interesting description of the military forces and the possibilities of defence in the four fortified harbors of Cartagena, Porto Bello, Vera Cruz, and Havana.



33. Fol. 348-356. Junta relating to the negotiations between Spain and France concerning Pensacola and Mississippi. Madrid, 12 September, 1701.

About those negotiations in general, see Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*, IV. 550-574; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and critical History of America*, who says (V. 36): "The inconvenience of the roadsteads occupied by the French had made them anxious to possess Pensacola. Iberville had urged upon the Government the necessity of procuring its cession from Spain if possible. So forcible were his arguments that negotiations to that end had been opened by Pontchartrain. Although the settlement had been neglected by the Spanish Government, yet the proposition to cede it to France was rejected with pompous arguments, in which the title of Spain was asserted as dating back to the famous Bull of Alexander VI., dividing the newly discovered portions of the world between Spain and Portugal."

The present document, although not quoted by the said authors, belongs to those negotiations. The French delegate was Monsieur Ducasse and the Spanish, Don Antonio de Uvilla y Medina. The act of the junta contains (1) the speech of Ducasse; (2) the speech of Uvilla y Medina; (3) the opinion of the junta.

34. Fol. 357-358. Letter of Antonio de Uvilla y Medina, saying he cannot find the answer given to the king by Marqués de los Velez relative to divers consultas concerning benefices in the Indies. 22 March, 1692.

35. Fol. 359-362. Answer of Marqués de los Velez to the king relative to divers consultas concerning benefices in the Indies. 22 March, 1692.

This paper is undoubtedly the answer which Uvilla y Medina said he could not find (see fol. 357-358, No. 35). It reproduces Velez's opinion concerning the difficulties encountered in that matter.

36. Fol. 363-374. Various memorial letters and a consulta to the king concerning a post of real oydor to be bestowed in the real audiencia of the city of La Plata.

(1) Letter of Antonio de Uvilla y Medina, 22 June, 1700. Fol. 363.

(2) *Idem*, 23 June, 1700. Fol. 364.

(3) Letter of Juan de Angulo, 8 December, 1692. Fol. 366.

(4) Letter of Marqués de los Velez, 21 April, 1688. Fol. 367-368.

(5) Letter of Antonio de Uvilla y Medina, 19 June 1700. Fol. 370.

(6) Consulta of Don Franco de Argandoña, to the king concerning the post of real oydor to be bestowed upon Don Luis Antonio Calbo de Monte, 21 April, 1688. Fol. 372-374.



37. Fol. 375. Letter to the officials of Potosí concerning the restitution of 8,500 pesetas to Don Cristóbal de Javallos; 9 May, 1688.
38. Fol. 376-378. Suggestions made by Marqués de los Velez to the king relative to the means of facilitating reinforcements and the providing of the Plaza de Orán (Algeria). Presidencia de Indias, 21 April, 1688.
39. Fol. 379-380. Suggestions made by Marqués de los Velez to the king relative to the method of providing for the necessities of the royal service. Madrid, 21 April, 1688.
40. Fol. 381-386. Extract of the decisions made for the restoration, fortification, and defence of Cartagena after its capture and destruction by the French and buccaneers in 1697.

Without date.

41. Fol. 387-407. Royal instructions to Don Juan Pimienta, governor and captain general of the province of Cartagena, newly appointed after the capture of the city in 1697. January, 1699.

The instructions insist upon three points: (1) the regular government of the city and the province; (2) the reconstruction of the walls, bulwarks, and forts; (3) the maintaining of the vessel *S<sup>n</sup> Juan Bautista* and of two pataches.

42. Fol. 408-415. Royal instructions to the capitan de mar y guerra, Don Fernando de Chacon y Medina for the government of the two vessels which were going to bring *azogue* (quick-silver) to New Spain.

The end is lacking and consequently the date.

43. Fol. 416-423. Description of the island of San Domingo made at royal command 31 August, 1699, and belonging to the consulta of the council of the Indies of 20 May, 1700.

This document and the two following attest the anxiety of the Spaniards before the advance of the French. It gives (1) a short history of the island; (2) the situation respectively of the French and the Spaniards, the number of enlisted men of every city and town of the Spanish part; (3) a description of the way of living of the inhabitants.

44. Fol. 424-427. Conditions under which an immigration of a thousand families from Flanders into the island of San Domingo could be allowed.

It was part of Spanish policy, in view of the increasing settlements of the French and English, to favor the immigration of Spanish subjects. As a rule, the Spanish Government admitted only Spanish born immigrants. Because



of the great danger in San Domingo, the council of the Indies, assembled 20 May, 1700, examined the advisability of an immigration from the southern Netherlands (Flanders), then under Spanish rule. See P. Margry, *Decouvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*, IV. 562-563.

This document must also belong to the consulta of the council of the Indies of 20 May, 1700. See following document.

45. Fol. 428-466. Discourse and opinion of Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamante relative to the divers points contained in the letters and the papers, which the council of the Indies ordered given him, dealing with the colonizing of the Island of San Domingo and other measures necessary in its behalf.

This is the second part of the lengthy report Bustamante presented concerning the general situation of San Domingo. See the first part fol. 55-88 (No. 8).

The document gives information concerning: (1) the proposition of the immigration of inhabitants from Flanders, the Canaries, and Galicia (Spain); (2) the coin used at San Domingo; (3) the exploitation of the soil, the mines, and other natural resources; (4) the trade and the *asiento* of negroes; (5) the religious situation.

46. Fol. 467-506. Opinion given by Don Lope de Sierra Offorio, Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamante, and Don Juan de Solis Muranda, after consideration of the acts, letters, and papers, upon the question of the trade indult of the Philippine Islands. Madrid, 1 January, 1693.

Concerning the regulations of the trade with the Philippine Islands see *Extracto historial del Expediente que pende en el Consejo de las Indias*, Madrid, 1736, and Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, 1905-1906) XXX. 23-109, XLIV. 225-312, XLV. 29-88.

47. Fol. 507-558. Series of lists of public offices and their holders in different provinces of the Indies, 1692-1693.

(1) Fol. 507-508. In the *corregimientos* subject to the president of the audiencia of Guatemala. Madrid, 14 October, 1693.

(2) Fol. 509-514. In the *gobiernos*, *corregimientos*, and *alcaldías mayores* of the district subject to the audiencia of Mexico. Mexico, 14 October, 1693.

26 July, 1689 the *futura* (right of succession) of governor of Florida was bestowed on Captain Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala; 21 August, 1692, he succeeded Don Diego de Quiroga y Losada (fol. 510v).

(3) Fol. 515-518. In the *presidencia* of Guadalajara (province of Nueva Galicia); in the *gobiernos*, *corregimientos*, and *alcaldías mayores* of Nueva Vizcaya. Madrid, 14 October, 1693.

(4) Fol. 519-523. In the *gobiernos* of the district subject to the audiencia of San Domingo. Madrid, 8 October, 1693.

(5) Fol. 525-528. In the *presidencia*, *gobiernos*, and *alcaldías mayores* of the



district subject to the audiencia of Guatemala. Madrid, 8 October, 1693. (See fol. 507-508).

(6) Fol. 529-530. In the *presidencia* and *gobierno* of the Philippine and Marianas Islands. Madrid, 14 October, 1693.

(7) Fol. 531-558. In the *gobiernos*, *corregimientos*, and *alcaldías mayores* subject to the viceroy of New Spain. 14 October, 1693.

29 May, 1688, Don Diego de Vargas was appointed governor of New Mexico; 6 June, 1692, the *futura* (right of succession) was bestowed on Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero (fol. 551).

48. Fol. 559-568. Acordado (decree enforcing the observance of prior proceedings) of the council of the Indies of 2 April, 1700 concerning the indult conceded to the ship of the Philippine Islands.

Suspends a cédula of 5 June, 1697 by which an indult was granted to one ship of the Philippine Islands. See *Extracto historial*, Madrid, 1736, p. 28, and Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, 1906) XLIV. 229. See above, fol. 467 (No. 46).

49. Fol. 459-601. Series of documents relating to an irregularity which occurred in the Real Casa of Mexico City during the year 1730.

(1) Fol. 569-570. Memorandum of the securities of the casa of Mexico from January, 1730 to May, 1731, copied from the rough drafts of Gonzalo de Leaegui and Juan Martinez de Soria.

Expenses incurred on behalf of New Mexico (fol. 569v), and Pensacola (fol. 586v).

(2) Fol. 571-589. Notes and settlement made by Don Manuel Angel de Villegas Puente, factor of the real hacienda and the casa of Mexico, and by Don Pedro de Larburu, provisional treasurer. 28 and 30 June, 1730.

(3) Fol. 590-591. Testimonio of the last paragraph of the answer given by the fiscal 25 May, 1731. Mexico, 26 May, 1731.

(4) Fol. 592-601. Account and liquidation of the settlement made by the aforesaid officials of the real hacienda. Alludes to fol. 571-589.

50. Fol. 602-610. Letter of the viceroy of New Spain (Marqués de Casa Fuerte) to the king concerning the sending of tools which he had requested from the governor and the officials of Manila for the careening of the ships sailing from the Philippine Islands to Acapulco. Mexico, 13 August, 1728.

51. Fol. 612. Conclusions of the account given by the officials of the real casa of Mexico in the year 1731.

Belongs to the documents concerning irregularities in the casa of Mexico, see fol. 569-601 (No. 49).



52. Fol. 614-622. Letter of Marqués de Casa Fuerte, viceroy of New Spain, to Don Joseph Patiño, announcing a change made in the trade ordinances of 15 September, 1726, of the Philippine Islands. Mexico, November, 1731.

Signed by Casa Fuerte. The letter has been published in *Extracto historial*, Madrid, 1736 pp. 129-133. See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XLV (Cleveland, 1906), 35.

Followed by a list of the new regulations concerning the cargo of the Nao de Filipinas.

53. Fol. 624-625. Letter of the junta to the king after examining Pontchartrain's report concerning the navigation of the English and French refugees in the South Sea and the means of advancing Spanish and French trade.

Without date. Dates back to the beginning of the War of the Succession (1701-1712).

On the occasion of the arrival of Louis Pontchartrain, minister of marine and chancellor of Louis XIV., the new king of Spain, Philip V., ordered a junta to examine the means of promoting the common interests of Spain and France regarding navigation and trade in the South Sea.

54. Fol. 626-655. Report of the Junta concerning the same matter. Madrid, 6 May, 1704.

See fol. 624-625 (number 52).

55. Fol. 656-660. Particular vote of Don Manuel Garcia de Bustamante, in which are included those of Señores Sierra and Camargo, concerning the protection of the fleet of New Spain. Madrid, 9 November, 1700.

56. Fol. 661-667. Consulta of the Council of the Indies concerning the presidencia of Panama, as the Scots are threatening to invade Darien.

The council advises the king to keep Conde de Camillas at the presidencia of Panama until the arrival of Conde de Monclova, viceroy of Peru (1688-1705), and to exclude Marqués de Villa Rocha from that office. The document, without date in this collection, is cited as follows by R. F. Hare, *The Disaster of Darien* (Boston and New York, 1929):

(25) 24 July, 1699. Madrid. Council of the Indies to the crown concerning tenure of office of President of Audencia de Panamá, Conde de Camillas, Joseph de la Rocha, etc.



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### THIRD VOLUME

Phillipps Ms. 4307: Sotheby Sale Catalogue, June 24-27, 1919, No. 274.

#### *Description of Manuscript.*

Title: Varias relaciones. In longhand, written in various hands on recto and verso of the folios; 6 unnumbered folios, 1-412 numbered folios, 1 unnumbered folio. The foliation is as follows: folios 1-60 have original numbering; of these 1-33 are numbered by pages, 34-60 by folio; folios 61-412 are numbered by folio in a contemporary



hand.  $11\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Bound in a vellum cover; on the back: *Varias Relaciones*.

*Description of contents.*

The volume contains eight different documents all written in Spanish:

- No. 1—Pages 1-31. A report of Duque de Alburquerque, outgoing viceroy of New Spain, to his successor, Duque de Linares. Mexico, 27 November, 1710.
- No. 2—Fol. 34<sup>r</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>. A report of Duque de Linares, outgoing viceroy of New Spain, to his successor, Marqués de Valero. Mexico, 29 June, 1716.
- No. 3—Fol. 77<sup>r</sup>-202<sup>r</sup>. An anonymous document, without title or date. From internal evidence it is clear that the document is a report written by the same Duque de Linares in the beginning of 1717, a few months after he left office, to some high official of the Spanish government.
- No. 4—Fol. 205<sup>r</sup>-251<sup>v</sup>. Another anonymous document without title or date. In fact this document, also written by Duque de Linares, is composed of two different parts: the first, fol. 205<sup>r</sup>-248<sup>v</sup>, reproduces Linares's report to Marqués de Valero, of which another copy is to be found fol. 33-75 (No. 2); the second, fol. 248<sup>v</sup>-251<sup>v</sup> reproduces a letter Linares wrote to the king of Spain.
- No. 5—Fol. 254<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>v</sup>. A third anonymous document, without date, entitled: *Misionero de las Indias*. It was written at the express request of Duque de Linares by a Jesuit.
- No. 6—Fol. 270<sup>r</sup>-299<sup>v</sup>. Report of Marqués de Valero, outgoing viceroy of New Spain, to his successor, Marqués de Casa Fuerte. Mexico, 5 September, 1722.
- No. 7—Fol. 302<sup>r</sup>-370<sup>v</sup>. Memoir of Don Luis de Salazar y Castro concerning the Council of Castille.
- No. 8—Fol. 371<sup>r</sup>-412<sup>v</sup>. Anonymous report. Mexico 30 September, 1740. Although the title of the document has disappeared and the names of the author and addressee have been deleted, it is beyond doubt that it was written by Pedro de Castro y Figueroa Salazar, Duque de la Conquista, a few days after his installation as viceroy of New Spain.

All these documents, except No. 7, proceed from viceroys of New Spain. Three of them (Nos. 2, 6, and 8) are originals or copies



signed by their authors, although in No. 8 the signatures have been deleted. Among the others, Nos. 3-5 form one distinct dossier, composed by Duque de Linares, No. 3 being an official report based upon Nos. 4 and 5. The dossier is edited in the distinct form of despatches to Spain, half of every page being left as margin for subsequent annotations, and with division of the subject into distinct paragraphs (see H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, III. 545). Nevertheless, far from being originals, Nos. 3-5 are documents devoid of every signature, title (except No. 5), name of author or date, and even, in the case of No. 4, of a clear transition between the two different pieces of which it is composed. They seem to have been originally rough draughts or copies made for the personal use of Linares himself or some other official.

As No. 7 is a memoir concerning the Council of Castille which apparently has nothing to do with Indian affairs, its presence in this volume is rather astonishing. It is quite possible that the document was introduced into the collection by mere accident. Nevertheless, one may suggest a more satisfactory explanation: the author of No. 7, Luis de Salazar de Castro, and the author of No. 8, Pedro de Castro y Figueroa Salazar, as their names imply, seem to have been related. Therefore, it is not impossible that No. 7 was in the private possession of Viceroy Pedro de Castro, with whose report it was jointly added to the collection. The fact that No. 8 has its signatures and name of addressee deleted, shows that this document was of a private character. This suggestion offers an easy explanation of the peculiarities of both documents.

Another suggestion, however, seems to be preferable. Luis de Salazar y Castro was *chronista mayor de las Indias*. Supposing the collection formed part of the archives of the council of the Indies, the introduction of a memoir, although not concerned with the Indies but written by the chronicler of the council, would be natural enough.

If this analysis is correct, the whole collection is apparently composed of documents belonging to the Council of the Indies, chiefly (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8) but not necessarily (No. 7) dealing with Mexican affairs.

#### *Age.*

The collection was made some time after the year 1740, as the latest document (No. 8) dates from the end of that year. It is probable that it formed part of the archives of the Council of the Indies.



*Importance.*

Except No. 7, all the documents are concerned with the history of New Spain. Their value is considerable. No. 1 and No. 2, of which the first part of No. 4 gives another text, and also No. 6 are copies of the official reports every outgoing viceroy was obliged, by royal ordinance, to present to his successor. Nos. 3-5 contain a dossier of Viceroy Linares, in the technical form of a despatch to Spain. No. 8, although of a more private character, is also a very interesting vice-regal report concerning New Spain. It seems that only one of these documents (No. 2) has been published and, even so, from an incomplete and corrupt text.

## CATALOGUE OF THE THIRD VOLUME

1. Pages 1-31. Extracto del estado de este Reyno y Provincias de la N<sup>a</sup> España, que dio El Ex<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup> Duque de Alburquerque Quando zeso en su Gobierno = Al Ex<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup> Duque de Linares su subgesor. Mexico, 27 November, 1710.

The document bears no signature. It is divided numerically. Alburquerque, who made this report, was viceroy of New Spain from 6 October, 1702 to 15 January, 1711.

Pages 2-4 of first 5 unnumbered pages: Index.

Page 4 of first 5 unnumbered pages: Title.

Pages 1-3. *Introduction.*

No. 1. General description of New Spain and duties of the viceroy.

Pages 3-12. *Gobierno Político.*

Nos. 2-4. General remarks about classes of people.

Nos. 4-5. Harm done by brigandage and war.

No. 7. Treatment of the Indians.

No. 8. Floods in Mexico City.

Nos. 9-10. Building of royal palace in Mexico, 1709.

Nos. 11-14. Difficulties with, and regulations concerning, the ships of the Philippine Islands.

Pages 12-16. *Patronato Real.*

Nos. 15-16. The royal privilege.

No. 17. Difficulties between the viceroy and the chapter of Mexico.

No. 18. Remarks concerning the clergy, both secular and regular.

Pages 16-26. *Guerra.*

No. 19. Appointments reserved to the king.

No. 20. Function of auditor general.

Nos. 21-25. The troops: palace guard and urban companies.

Nos. 26-29. Fortress of San Juan de Ulua. Force of Vera Cruz. Projected fortifications and demolitions.

Nos. 30-33. The fleet of Barlovento.



Nos. 34-38. The presidios. Sta. Maria de Galve in Florida. St. Augustine in Florida. Impossibility of dislodging the English from Carolina. *Casas* for payment of the salaries of the *presidios internos*. The fifteen *presidios internos*, their garrison and utility.

No. 39. Prohibition by the king of any offensive war against the Indians.

Pages 27-29. *Real Hacienda*.

No. 40. Fund of 800,000 pesos left in the real casa of Mexico.

No. 41. Importance of the real casa of Mexico.

No. 42. Advantages obtained by the real hacienda in every branch.

No. 43. The viceroy superintendent of the real hacienda and the mines, though no longer of the azogue (quicksilver).

No. 44. Annual account to be given by the different casas to the tribunal de cuentas.

No. 45. The juntas de hacienda must solve the difficulties of the real hacienda. paying of their taxes.

Pages 29-31.

No. 47. Final desires.

## 2. Fol. 34-75. Relacion del Estado de la Nueva España que hace el Duque de Linares al Ex<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup> Marqués de Balero su subçesor en el Gobierno de ella etc<sup>a</sup>.

The document bears Linares's signature (fol. 75r). The report was made by Duque de Linares who was viceroy of New Spain from 15 January, 1711 to 16 August, 1716. Linares's report is one of the most important of the eighteenth century. It has been published by the Mexican government in *Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores* (Mexico, Imprensa Imperial, 1867), pp. 302-317. The present handwritten document, however, furnishes a better text than the printed one in various respects:

(a) Different corrupt and unintelligible readings of the printed text are perfectly intelligible in the manuscript. Examples:

Printed text, p. 307: "y así no les dan . . . no les falta el estímulo de verlos vigilantes y excesivos de sus cargos". Corrected as follows in our manuscript, fol. 47v: "y sino les dan sugestión, no les falta el estímulo de berlos vijilantes, y egecutivos en sus cargos."

Printed text, p. 314, has lost a line, reading thus: "por que las mas de las materias de guerra que las leyes tienen prescriptas". The text is complete in the Ms., fol. 62: "por que las mas de las materias de guerra esta en practica llevarse a el, por no formarse nunca la junta de guerra que las leyes tienen prescripto".

(b) In different passages the manuscript is more exact than the printed text. Example:

Printed text, p. 315: "el restablimento de unas misiones en los rios que llaman tal y tal". Manuscript, fol. 63r: "el restablecimiento de unas misiones entre los dos rios que llaman del Norte".

(c) The manuscript contains two extensive parts which are lacking in the printed text. The first (fol. 63v-66v), treating of the militia of Mexico City, is to be inserted in the printed text on p. 315, between the sentence ending



"podido conseguir" and the one beginning "Las dos compañías de Palacio. . . ." The second (fol. 67v-71r), which shows the situation of the Indians and the wrongs of the Spaniards towards them, should belong in the printed text on p. 315 between the sentence ending "... con la practica" and the one beginning "Hasta aquí he cumplido. . . ."

Fol. 34r. Title. Fol. 36r-36v. *Introduction.*

Fol. 36v-47r. *Administrative and Judicial matters.*

Fol. 36v. Vices of the inhabitants and the officials, especially in matters concerning justice and trials.

Fol. 38r. Situation of the sala del crimen, prisons and obrages (workhouses used as houses of correction).

Fol. 40r. Abuses with respect to forbidden drinks and pulque.

Fol. 41r. Government of the alcaldes mayores.

Fol. 41r. Government of the City of Mexico.

Fol. 43r. Production of maize.

Fol. 44r. Baratillo (trade in second-hand articles).

Fol. 44r. Description of classes of population, especially the cavalleros.

Fol. 45v. Description of the officials of the real hacienda.

Fol. 45v. Abuses: monopolies; brigandage and thefts; laziness.

Fol. 47r. Function of the alcaldes ordinarios.

Fol. 47v-52v. *Patronato Real.*

Fol. 47v. Morals of the clergy and remedies.

Fol. 50r. The inquisition. The archbishop and bishops. The colleges. The university.

Fol. 52v-54v. *The Consulado.*

Fol. 54v-62v. *Real Hacienda.*

Fol. 54v. Bad situation. Frauds.

Fol. 56v. Description of the royal officials.

Fol. 56v. Remarks concerning the mines.

Fol. 57v. Activity of the bankers.

Fol. 58r-61r. *Guerra.*

Fol. 58r. Presidios externos: assistance given to the presidios of Barlovento, Pensacola, Havana, Florida, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Cumana, and San Domingo.

Fol. 58v. Fortresses: assistance given to Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulua.

Fol. 59r. The fleet: the war fleet of Barlovento and the trade ships of the Philippine Islands.

Fol. 60r. Presidios internos: abuses in payment of salaries.

Fol. 61v-75r. *Various matters.*

Fol. 61v. The junta general: its defects.

Fol. 62v. Enterprises: in real de los asientos; in Mapimi; in Texas (re-establishment of the missions between the two rivers del Norte); in Sierra Gorda; in Nuevo Reyno de Leon.

Fol. 63v. Remarks concerning the tribunal de cuentas.

Fol. 63v. The militia of Mexico City.

Fol. 67v. The Indians: their necessity to New Spain. Results of their oppression. Description of the Indian.

Fol. 69v-75r. Remarks concerning the officials. Their untrustworthiness,



especially in the department of the despacho. Their harassing of the Indians. The duties of the viceroy regarding the officials.

### 3. Fol. 77<sup>r</sup>-202<sup>r</sup>. Anonymous document without title or date.

Some accompanying notes in the margin of fol. 77<sup>r</sup> have become illegible. A modern hand has written in pencil at the top of the same folio: "Marqués de Valero". Marqués de Valero was the successor of Duque de Linares; hence the document has been assumed to be the third of a series of reports made by outgoing viceroys—an incorrect identification, however.

The real author of this document is doubtless the same Duque de Linares who wrote the preceding report; he was viceroy of New Spain from 15 January, 1711 to 16 August, 1716 and was succeeded by Marqués de Valero. The following statements taken from the document prove the identification:

(a) Fol. 159<sup>v</sup>: "Los seis meses primeros del año de 1716 que fué el ultimo tiempo de mi Gobierno".

(b) Fol. 163<sup>v</sup>: "el día de 23 de Junio del año proximo passado quando ya me avia mudado del Real Palacio. . . ."

(c) Fol. 164<sup>r</sup>: "El Exmo. Sr Marqs de Valero que ya estaba en Chapultepeque."

According to statement (a) and (b) the year 1716 was "proximo pasado" when the report was written. The author who can be no other than Duque de Linares, finished his government in the second half of 1716 and retired upon the arrival of Marqués de Valero, the newly appointed viceroy of New Spain. As Linares died on June 3, 1717, the document dates from the first months of the year 1717.

It is more difficult to identify the addressee. It is certainly not the new viceroy, Marqués de Valero; for Linares calls his addressee "VS," whereas in the preceding official report he addresses Valero as "VE"; moreover, statement (c) speaks of viceroy Valero as of a third person. On the other hand, the addressee was a prominent personage and a member of the inquisition (see fol. 142<sup>v</sup>: "No porque VS sea del tribunal de la Inquisición, he de dejar . . .") and in close touch with the court of Spain (see fol. 199<sup>r</sup>: "En examinando VS los autos tendrá campo pa informar al Rey"). All this and the fact that Linares refers frequently to the testimony of the official acts of his government and apologizes in many parts (fol. 153<sup>r</sup>) suggests that the document was an answer of the retired viceroy to an inquiry of some member of the Spanish government. Moreover, No. 3, with Nos. 4 and 5, unlike the other documents, is edited in the required form of a despatch to Spain. Indeed, half of every page is left open as margin for subsequent annotations; the report is divided into paragraphs noted in the margins; and in at least one case (fol. 116<sup>v</sup>) an explicit reference is made to No. 5. From a comparison between No. 3 and No. 4 it is clear that the former is based on the latter, although it is more extensive and gives a great many new details and information especially concerning the condition of the real hacienda and the officials of New Spain. The distinct form of Nos. 3-5 and their internal connection show that the three documents, at least originally, formed one dossier despatched to the government in



Spain; No. 3 being the chief report, and Nos. 4 and 5 serving as sources and as supporting documents.

In No. 3, Linares arranged his information according to geographical order; successively, he passes in review the provinces of the coast, the inland provinces, the northern provinces, the southern provinces, and finally, Mexico City.

Fol. 77r. *Introduction.*

Fol. 77v-100r. *The provinces of the coast.*

No. 2. Enseñada Mexicana.

Nos. 3-5. Campeche.

Nos. 6-8. San Juan de Ulua.

Nos. 9-11. Vera Cruz. Untrustworthiness of the officials.

Nos. 12-14. The Barlovento fleet: its utility for the defence of the Spanish settlements along the coast, such as Pensacola.

No. 15. Xalapa.

Fol. 100v-107r. *The inland provinces.*

Nos. 15-16. Puebla de los Angeles, Queretaro, and Guadalajara.

No. 17. Zacatecas.

No. 18. Condition of the mines.

Fol. 107v-119r. *The Northern provinces*

No. 19. The presidios internos (nearly the same as in Linares's report to Valero, see fol. 60r).

No. 20. Enterprises during Linares's government: real de los asentos, Mapimi, missions between the two rivers del Norte, Texas (same matters as in Linares's report to Valero, but more detailed, especially concerning Texas and the viceroy's conduct toward Governor Alarcón).

No. 21. El Parral, capital of Nueva Vizcaya.

No. 22. The defensive war with the Indians. Missions. Durango.

No. 23. New Mexico and its dominions. Controversy between Marqués de la Peñuela, Pedro Otero Bermudes, and Fulano Mogollan.

No. 24. Nuevo Leon.

Fol. 119r-120r. *The Southern provinces*

No. 25. Oaxaca. Guatemala.

Fol. 120r-202r. *Mexico City*

No. 26. General condition. The real acuerdo. Various classes of people. The consulado. The sala del crimen. Merits of different subjects.

Nos. 27-27. Offices of the government.

No. 29. Censes and revenues paid by the city.

Nos. 30-31. Trade in maize. Baratillo (trade in second hand articles).

No. 32. Description of the inhabitants: their vices and virtues.

Nos. 33-34. Fertility of the Indies. Description of the Indian.

Nos. 34-35. Religious situation.

Fol. 144r. Militia of Mexico City.

Fol. 148r. Prisons and *obrages*.

Fol. 149v. Brigandage, theft, and laziness.

Fol. 150v. Hospitals.

Fol. 152v. Tribunal de cuentas.

Fol. 152v. Real hacienda: very long description of its precarious condition.



4. Fol. 205<sup>r</sup>-251<sup>v</sup>. Anonymous document without title or date.

This document contains two quite different papers written by Linares.

(1) Fol. 205<sup>r</sup>-248<sup>v</sup>. Copy of the report which Linares gave to Marqués de Valero, his successor (No. 2). This new copy of the famous Linares report reproduces the text of fol. 34-75, except for one point: namely, it drops the passage treating of the militia of Mexico City, which is also lacking in the printed text. But it agrees with the text of fol. 34-75 in giving the passage concerning the Indians, which is again lacking in the printed text (see above, remarks to No. 2).

(2) Fol. 248<sup>v</sup>-251<sup>v</sup>. Copy of a letter Linares addressed directly to the king, as appears from the frequently occurring formula "VM". It begins: "Hasta aqui avia cumplido con la Rl. Ordu. de VMd. dejando esse papel o aviso de las costumbres y estado en que quedan este Gobierno y su dominio que es lo que pudo comprehender mi cortedad pero acompañando a mi deseo la obligacion de mudar estilo quando se endereza la representacion al superior puedo oi con mas luz adelantar a VMgd. los motivos de que creo que nazen muchos de los nros referidos . . .". This seems to imply that Linares sent to the king a copy of his report to Valero, with an accompanying letter concerning the reasons for the difficulties encountered during his government. Neither the beginning nor the end of No. 4, however, gives any further information. The document was written subsequent to the report to Valero (29 June, 1716) and somewhat before the writing of No. 3 (beginning of 1717) to which it served as a source of information. It comments upon the qualities required by the officials who will be appointed to the government of New Spain.

5. Fol. 254<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>v</sup>. Anonymous document entitled: Misionero de las Indias.

In his report No. 3 (fol. 116<sup>v</sup>) Linares, speaking of the missions in New Spain, writes: "ã este lugar compete tratar de las misiones y misioneros ã cuiro fin pedi ymforme ã un relixioso practico y de especial virtud el qual remitto ã V.S. . . ." After a few lines, a mark in the text points to a note in the margin which says: "Aqui hã de entrar el capito que comienza Misionero de las Indias segun la mente y juicio de Sr Francisco Xavier (pa llevar todo el reyno seguido)".

The document thus referred to is undoubtedly No. 5, which not only bears the title: Misionero de las Indias, but enumerates all the qualities required by the true missionary according to the spirit of St. Francis Xavier.

The author wrote his memoir at the express request of Linares. He was a Jesuit, as he called Andres de Luque S. J. "el Padre Visitador mi Superior" (fol. 269<sup>v</sup>). This document may be the original, at least its anonymity constitutes no objection against such supposition. For not only the author, but even Linares (fol. 116<sup>v</sup>) evidently wishes the anonymous character of the paper to be respected.

6. Fol. 270<sup>r</sup>-299<sup>v</sup>. Relacion sumaria de el Estado que hoy tiene el Gov<sup>no</sup> de la Nueva España, que haze el Marqués de Valero, ã el Ex<sup>mo</sup> Señor Marqués de Casa-fuerte su subçesor. Palace of Mexico, 5 September, 1722.



This is the third and last official report of an outgoing viceroy contained in this volume; the two others are No. 1, of Duque de Alburquerque, and No. 2, of Duque de Linares. Like No. 2, this document bears the signature of the viceroy, and is consequently the original or rather a certified copy. The Marqués de Valero was in office from 15 August to 16 March, 1722.

Fol. 270r. Title

Fol. 272r. *Introduction.*

Duties of the viceroy.

Fol. 273v-277v. *Patronato Real.*

The Patronato Real and the regalia.

General religious conditions. Controversies.

The new bishoprics.

The missions, especially in Texas.

Fol. 278r-283v. *Guerra.*

The presidios of Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico.

The capitania general and the military government in the interior, with special regard to the fortress of Vera Cruz and the Castle of Acapulco.

Fol. 283v-289v. *Real Hacienda.*

General situation and administration in various branches.

Fol. 289v-296r. *Gobierno Político*

The presidencia of the Real Audiencia.

Political government and duties of the viceroy and governor.

Prosperity of New Spain during recent years.

Abuses regarding the *alcaldías mayores*.

Fol. 296r-299v. *Trade.*

Supply of provisions.

Trade and concern of merchants in Mexico City.

Market of Xalapa.

Trade with the Philippine Islands.

7. Fol. 302r-270v. Papel que Don Luis de Salazar y Castro Comendador de Zurita en la Orden de Calatrava, escribió a Orden del Rey, sobre una Consulta, del Consejo de Castilla que trata institución de el su Origen, y autoridad.

Luis de Salazar y Castro is one of the most famous writers and historians of his time. Born in Valladolid in 1658, he was appointed by the king chronicler of Castille in 1685, member of the Order of Calatrava in 1686, commandant of Zurita and *chronista mayor de Indias* in 1691, *consejero* of the military orders and superintendent of their archives in 1721. He died in 1734. It has not been determined whether the present document has been published. It was written shortly after 1708 (see fol. 303r). For an explanation of the presence of Salazar's memoir in this collection, see Introduction of this volume.

8. Fol. 371r-412v. Anonymous report. Mexico, 30 September, 1740.

This document is an original viceregal report. The front page is torn out so that the title has disappeared; at the end the name of the addressee (a certain



Joseph de . . .) has been deleted and also several signatures (fol. 412v). From an internal examination it is easy to gather that the author was none other than Pedro de Castro y Figueroa Salazar, Duque de la Conquista, Viceroy of New Spain and successor of Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta. He took charge of the viceregal government 17 August, 1740, and died 22 August, 1741, while still in office. Figueroa's report has none of the characteristics of an official despatch to Spain. It is possibly this private character of the document which Figueroa himself or the author of the whole collection wanted to respect by deleting the names of the addressee and the signature.

The report gives the viceroy's first impressions concerning the general situation of New Spain. It has many personal remarks and suggestions.

Fol. 371r. Arrival in New Spain and installation in Mexico, 17 August, 1740. Impressions.

Fol. 375r. First measures.

Fol. 377r-385v. *Real Hacienda*

Fol. 377r. Different branches: Azogues; Cruzada; Tributos; Mesada ecclesiastica.

Fol. 381v. Tribunal de cuentas.

Fol. 383r. Casa de moneda of Mexico.

Fol. 385r. Abuses regarding food.

Fol. 385v-386r. *Religion*

Few remarks.

Fol. 386r-408r. *Guerra.*

Fol. 386r. Presidios internos: number, garrison, etc.

Fol. 387r. Rebellion of Indians in Sonora.

Fol. 390v. Rebellion of Indians in Lower California.

Fol. 392r. Vera Cruz.

Fol. 393v. Castle of Ulua.

Fol. 394r. Presidios and Barlovento Fleet.

Fol. 400v. Presidio of Pensacola.

Fol. 402v. Florida and presidio of St. Augustine. Designs of English; precarious situation of the Spanish and reasons thereof.

Fol. 406r. Province of Campeche.

Fol. 408r-412. *Trade and Industry.*

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